

BIOGRAPHIA NAUTICA:
OR,
M E M O I R S
OF THOSE
ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN,
TO WHOSE
INTREPIDITY AND CONDUCT
THE
ENGLISH ARE INDEBTED,
FOR
The VICTORIES of their FLEETS, the INCREASE of their
DOMINIONS, the EXTENSION of their COMMERCE,
AND THEIR
PRE-EMINENCE ON THE OCEAN,

INTERSPERSED WITH

The most material Circumstances of NAVAL HISTORY, from
the NORMAN INVASION to the Year 1779.
Embellished with COPPER-PLATES.

By DR. J. CAMPBELL, and JOHN KENT, Esq.
IN FIVE VOLUMES.

ENGLAND IS A LAND WHICH CAN NEVER BE CONQUERED WHILST
THE KINGS THEREOF KEEP THE DOMINION OF THE SEAS.
SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

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BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS

OF

CHARLES HOWARD,

BARON OF EFFINGHAM, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM,
and LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.

AT this era, the family of Howard was not less distinguished by a race of naval heroes, than by exalted birth and powerful alliances. The immediate, and gallant ancestors of this destroyer of the Armada (a) have been already mentioned (b). Charles, born in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and thirty-six, was the son of the Lord William Howard, by Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage, in the county of Glanmorgan (c). He was trained to war, under the conduct of his father, who not only enjoyed the post of high-admiral, but had been

A 2

advanced

(a) Walpole's royal, and noble authors, V. i. p. 158.
Article Essex.

(b) Volume the Second, p. 2. &c.

(c) Baronagium Angliæ, p. 34. MS.—Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 278.

advanced to the barony of Effingham. His earlier years were passed in naval expeditions ; but, at the accession of Elizabeth, a period when he was just of age, he received orders from his sovereign, to repair to Paris, and, in her name, to congratulate Charles, the ninth, who, about this time, had ascended the throne of France (*d*). In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-eight, he was appointed general of the horse, and, attending the Earl of Warwick to the North, displayed his valour, and good conduct, in the action against the rebels, under their leaders, the Earls of Northumberland, and Westmoreland (*e*).

We have already (*f*) observed that, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-nine, he was intrusted with the command of a formidable squadron, and, attended by several of the nobility, proceeded to Zealand, from whence, he escorted into Spain, Anne, of Austria, the daughter of the emperor Maximilian, and niece of Philip, to whom she was betrothed in marriage (*g*). It is, now, necessary to add that, in the true spirit of an English seaman, who, neither in peace, nor war, permits the navy of his sovereign to be insulted, in the channel, he forced the Spaniards, although their fleet amounted to one hundred, and thirty sail, to strike their flags, as an acknowledgment that Elizabeth, and her people, were intitled to the dominion of the ocean by which they were surrounded (*h*).

In

(*d*) Camden's Annals, p. 54.

(*e*) Strype's Annals, V. 1. p. 583.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 1212.

(*f*) Volume the second, p. 168.

(*g*) Camden's Annals, V. 2. p. 220, 221.—Petrera's Hist. de Espana, Part XV. Sec. 16.

(*h*) Epistle Dedicatory, addressed to the Earl of Nottingham, in the first volume of Hackluyt's Voyages.

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In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy one, he was returned to parliament, by the county of Surry; an honour which he exchanged soon afterwards for a greater, being admitted into the House of Peers, as Baron of Effingham, in the room of his father, who died, on the twelfth of January, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-two, lamented by his sovereign, who had permitted him, during the latter part of his life, to enjoy the lucrative, and exalted post of Lord-Privy-Seal (*i*).

The Queen bestowed her favours, with equal profusion, on the son, advancing him to the highest offices, yet, not rapidly, but, as her manner was, by progression (*k*). On the fourth of April, in the year one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-three, and, at a period when he had, for some time, attended the person of Elizabeth, as the Lord Chamberlain of her household, he was honoured with the order of the garter (*l*). A naval historian (*m*) remarks that some contemporary writers have affirmed that the promotion of Lord Effingham was, in a great measure, intended to controul the aspiring spirit of the Earl of Leicester; and, he deems the circumstances to be probable, because these favourites have been represented, as destitute of congenial feelings, and not more opposite in their minds, than in the conduct of their lives (*n*). he adds that Leicester was deceitful, overbearing, and

A 3

ambi-

(*i*) Stowe, p. 674.—Hollingshed, V. 2. p. 112.—Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, p. 88, 95.

(*k*) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 511.

(*l*) Dugdale's *Baronage*, V. 2. p. 279.—Ashmole's *History of the Order of the Garter*, p. 715.

(*m*) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 511, 512.

(*n*) Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 736.

6 MEMOIRS OF THE

ambitious; but commends Effingham for his patriotism, frankness, candour, and generosity. We are told that, by the Queen, he was respected for his loyalty, and that the people revered, and loved him, not alone in compliment to his illustrious, and heroic family, but on account of his hospitality, affability, and a number of endearing virtues (*o*). With these apparent claims to the attention of his sovereign, and the regard of his fellow-subjects, it is not extraordinary that, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-five, and at the death of the Earl of Lincoln, he was advanced to the post of Lord High Admiral of England; an event which gave the greatest satisfaction to all the officers, and mariners of the fleet, by whom he was at once beloved, and honoured (*p*).

The particulars of those important services for which Elizabeth, and the state, were indebted to the Lord Effingham, and his brave associates, at a period when the whole naval, and military force of Spain was intent on the destruction of the English, have been already mentioned (*q*). We shall not farther review this important subject, than by the insertion of a passage from the writings of the gallant Sir Richard Hawkins, whose testimony to the merit of his commander, it were injustice to suppress.

“ Worthy of perpetual memory, was the prudent
 “ policy, and government of our English navy, in the
 “ year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-
 “ eight, by the valiant Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-
 “ Admiral of England, who, in the like case, with ma-
 “ ture, and experimented knowledge, patiently with-
 “ stood

(*o*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 512.

(*p*) Stowe, p. 700, 709.—Camden, p. 451.

(*q*) Volume the second, from page 230, to page 305.

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stood the instigations of many courageous, and noble captains, who would have persuaded him to lay the Spaniards aboard ; but when he foresaw that the enemy had an army in their fleet, and he none ; and that they exceeded him in number of shipping, and those great in bulk, stronger built, and higher molded ; so that they who, with such Advantage fought from above, might easily distress all opposition below, the slaughter, peradventure, proving more fatal than the victory profitable, by being overthrown, he might have hazarded the kingdom ; whereas, by the conquest, (at most,) he could have boasted of nothing, but glory, and an enemy defeated. But, by sufferance, he always advantaged himself of wind, and tide, which was the freedom of our country, and the security of our navy, with the destruction of the Armada, which in the eye of the ignorant, (who judge of all things, by their external appearance,) seemed invincible, but truly considered, was much inferior to the English fleet, in all things of substance, as the event proved. For, we sunk, spoiled, and took many of them ; yet they diminished of our navy, but one small pinnace, nor any man of name, save only captain Cocke, who died, with honour, amidst his company. The greatest damage that, (as I remember,) they caused to any of our ships, was to the *Swallow*, belonging to her majesty, (which I had, in that action, under my charge,) with an arrow of fire, shot into her beak-head, which we saw not, because of the sail, until it had burned a hole in the rose, as big as a man's head. The arrow falling out, and driving along by the ship's side, made us doubt of it, which, afterwards, we discovered."

As

As every material circumstance connected with the expedition to Cadiz, hath been already presented to the reader (r), we need only remind him that the conduct of the Lord Esingham was strongly marked by that well-tempered heroism, which is a surer earnest of success, than the violence of undaunted Resolution. Elizabeth, who felt the value of his services, expressed a pleasure in rewarding them; and, soon after (s) his return advanced him to the title of Earl of Nottingham, which had formerly been enjoyed by the house of Mowbray, from which he was descended. The preamble of his patent reflects a lustre on his character, and, by order of Elizabeth, it was expressed that, "In consequence of the victory obtained, in
 " the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-
 " eight, he had secured the kingdom of England, from
 " the invasion of Spain, and other impending dan-
 " gers; and did, also, in conjunction with her dear
 " cousin, Robert, Earl of Essex, seize, by force, the
 " Isle, and the strongly fortified city of Cadiz, in the
 " farthest part of Spain; and, did likewise, intirely
 " rout, and defeat another fleet of the king of Spain,
 " prepared, in that port, against this kingdom (t)."

A naval historian (u) observes that these assertions in the patent, howsoever honourable, were less needful in that than in any other reign, since it was well known that Elizabeth parted not with titles, until they were deserved (x); nor, unless she knew that

(r) Volume the second, from page 329, to page 389.

(s) October 22. A. D. 1596.

(t) Pat. 39. Eliz. P. 3.

(u) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. p. 516.

(x) Yet the earl of Essex thought differently. The violent, and jealous temper of this lord was ill-calculated to brook

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the public voice would approve her favour; as, in this case, it loudly did. At the first Introduction of the earl of Nottingham into the house of lords, he was received with such unusual marks of joy as amply testified the high opinion which that assembly had conceived of him; nor did they less applaud the conduct of the queen, when, not satisfied with having advanced him to one dignity, she, almost immediately, appointed him justice-itinerant (for life) of all the forests, south of Trent (y). The next great office conferred upon him appears to have been that of lord lieutenant-general of all England (z), at a period (a) when a suspected invasion from the Spaniards, and the conduct of the earl of Essex, in Ireland, had exceedingly alarmed the kingdom.

It may, in this place, be necessary to remark, without entering into a tedious relation of the desperate conspiracies of Essex, that Nottingham (who had been accused by that lord, of having sacrificed to Spain the interests of his country,) was intrusted with the command of an armed body of the nobility, citizens, and soldiers, when having surrounded both from the street, and gardens, the house to which the insurgents had retired, he summoned Essex to surrender (b). At first, yield-

brook the insinuation that Nottingham had equally contributed with himself, to the success of the enterprize before Cadiz. He even assumed the unwarrantable liberty of proposing that the patent should be cancelled; and threatened, in case of a refusal, to challenge Nottingham, or any of his sons, to single combat.—Bacon's papers, p. 365.

(y) Pat. 39. Eliz. P. 1.

(z) Camden. Annal. p. 794.—Stowe's Annals, p. 778.—Speed.—Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 517.

(a) Volume the second, from page 425, to page 427.

(b) The earl resided, then, at Temple-bar; and, on that spot where Devereux-court, and Essex-street now stand.

yielding to the advice of the lord Sandys, this infatuated malcontent declared that he was determined to resist, until the last extremity ; and would perish, not tamely by the hands of the executioner, but, bravely, contending against his enemies. The reflections of a cooler moment induced him, soon afterwards, to change his purpose ; and he informed the lord admiral that he was prepared to yield on the conditions, that his adherents, together with himself, should be treated with civility ; that their trials should be regulated by an impartial regard to law ; and that Ash-ton a presbyterian minister, might be permitted to attend him in his confinement. The earl of Nottingham engaged for the first condition ; observed that Elizabeth would, undoubtedly, perform the second ; and promised to employ his interest for the completion of the last. Having received this answer, the conspirators submitted ; and the earls of Essex, Rutland, and Southampton, the lords Sandys, Cromwell, and Mont-eagle, together with Davis, and Bromley, were conducted, by water, to the tower. The rest were committed to different prisons within the city (c).

At this period, the lord high-admiral was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of earl marshal of England (d) ; and it was to him (who attended (e) with the keeper of the privy-seal, and the secretary of state,) that Elizabeth, in her last moments, declared her pleasure that the crown should devolve on James, the king of Scotland (f).

At

(c) February 8, 1600. — Stowe. — Speed. — Camden. — Treasons of the Earl of Essex.

(d) Pat. 44. Eliz. P. 14.

(e) Volume the second, p. 434.

(f) Camden, V. 3. p. 912. — Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth, V. 2. p. 507, 508.

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At the accession of this prince, the earl of Nottingham was honoured with distinguished marks of approbation, and not only fixed in the possession of those Offices which he held at the close of the preceding reign, but directed to assume the dignity, and Employment of lord high steward, during the approaching ceremony of the coronation. In the summer of the succeeding year (*g*), a peace was concluded with Spain, and signed by the plenipotentiaries from that court, at London (*h*). The more effectually to ratify it, the constable of Castile arrived in England; whilst, on the same occasion, the earl of Hertford was dispatched to the Low-Countries, and the earl of Nottingham to Spain. His magnificent retinue amounted to five hundred persons, amongst whom were six peers, and fifty knights. Amidst the pomp of this embassy, the royal appointment of fifteen thousand pounds, formed but an inconsiderable part of the expences which attended it. The generosity of Nottingham, which, at this juncture, was carried to unusual excesses, proved highly-pleasing to the Spaniards, on whose bigotry, and ignorance, the priests had worked so powerfully, that they expected to have met an infernal troop of monsters from the English land of heretics; and could not avoid remarking with astonishment, that the ambassador, and his attendants, were not only in human form, but blooming with health, and beauty, superior to their own. The gifts which were presented by Philip, the third, to the earl of Nottingham, at his departure from the court of Spain, were supposed to have exceeded in value, the sum of twenty thousand pounds (*i*).

On

(*g*) August 18, 1604.

(*h*) Rymer, V. 16. p. 585, &c.

(*i*) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 69. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 519.

On his return, and, at his first audience with James, he was treated with a degree of coolness ill suited to the importance of his services, and which resulted solely from the credulity of the king, who considered the lord high admiral to be guilty, on the weak ground that his enemies had accused him; and expressed, without reason a violent displeasure, that he should have affected a magnificence too unlimited for a subject; and have proceeded, in the free sallies of his temper, to indiscretions, unworthy of the prudence of an ambassador (*k*). The disgrace of Nottingham was, however, transient, and James took an early opportunity of convincing him that he was intirely reinstated in his favour, by appointing him to the command of the fleet which accompanied the princess Elizabeth, on her passage to Flushing, soon after the celebration of her nuptials with the Elector Palatine (*l*). This service (if it be intitled to such a name,) was the last public action of his life, and, quickly followed by the resignation of his post of lord high admiral, to the rising favourite, George Villiers, at that period, duke of Buckingham.

A naval writer (*m*), observes that some contemporary historians have thrown this circumstance into a light exceedingly injurious to the memory of James, disgraceful to Buckingham, and equally detrimental to the Reputation of the earl of Nottingham, who is represented as having been, compulsively, dismissed from his employments in the navy; yet not without a pecuniary recompence from James, and the appointment of sir Robert Mansel, to the post of vice-admiral

(*k*) Winwood's Memorials, p. 91, 92.

(*l*) Wilson's life of James, the first. in Kenner's complete History of England, V. 2. p. 690, 691.

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 520.

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miral for life; and thus, (if such accounts could be depended on,) a valiant, and experienced officer, was wantonly removed from an important trust, to please a rash, and giddy youth, unable to discharge it (*n*).

In contradiction to this inference, it hath been remarked (*o*) that the manner in which the earl of Nottingham resigned his post, appears from the most scrupulous consideration of every circumstance, to have answered his own wishes, without leaving a pretext for an injurious reflexion on the conduct of his sovereign. During the course of thirty-two Years, he had presided over the naval department of the kingdom, with unsullied honour; and, at length, sinking under age and infirmities, applied, but without the privity of Buckingham, for a conditional discharge. His request was granted; and, as he had signified his apprehensions lest (under circumstances too narrow for his rank,) he should be unable to make the necessary provision for the countess (*p*), and her daughters, the king remitted to him a debt of eighteen hundred pounds, which was due from his family to the crown (*q*), and likewise settled on him a pension of three thousand pounds (*r*). To these pecuniary rewards, was added a precedence in rank; and, with the title of the earl of Nottingham, he took his seat in the house
of

(*n*) Court and character of king James, by sir Anthony Weldon. London, 1651. 12mo. p. 114, 115.

(*o*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 520.

(*p*) This lady to whom he had been married, not long before, was the daughter of the earl Murray.

(*q*) Camden's Annals of king James, in bishop Kennet's compleat history, V. 2. p. 651, 653.—Sir William Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 279.—Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 360.—Aulicus Coquinariz. London, 1650. 12 mo. p. 169.

(*r*) Aulicus Coquinariz.

of peers, as the descendant of an ancestor on whom it had been conferred by Richard, the second; and not according to the date of his last creation (*s*).

We are informed (*t*) that Buckingham paid a visit to the earl, and having thanked him for this spontaneous resignation in his favour, intreated the young countess to receive from him, as a token of his gratitude, and esteem for her illustrious lord, a present of three thousand pounds. It is added that this powerful favourite (who knelt, as he approached Nottingham, nor ever mentioned him, but with reverence, and by the name of father,) prevailed on James to confirm, (for life, and by patent,) the post of vice-admiral to sir Robert Mansel, the descendant of an honourable family, but, at one period, the menial servant of the earl. Affected by this act of generosity, Nottingham, regardless of the infirmities of age, repaired, instantly, to the duke of Buckingham, and protested that he considered the advancement of Mansel, as an obligation conferred upon himself (*u*). To obviate the popular objections against the appointment of Buckingham to the post of lord high admiral, the king instituted a council composed of officers of exalted rank, and distinguished naval abilities, without whose concurrence no important measure was to be carried into execution. The salutary effects of this proceeding were soon apparent, and Buckingham, who had obtained the assignment of a considerable fund for the service of his department, was enabled to reduce the ordinary expences of the fleet, from fifty-four, to thirty thousand pounds, a year.

(*s*) Camden's Annals of king James, p. 653.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 521.

(*t*) Aulicus Coquinariz, p. 170.

(*u*) Ibid.

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a year (x). It is remarked, by a discerning writer (y), that, on the whole, this transaction was not dishonourable; that all parties were obliged, and all expressed their satisfaction; that every insinuation to the contrary flows manifestly from unwarrantable conjectures, and a desire of prejudicing the world against the memory of men in elevated stations; practices the most destructive of the true end, and fruit of history, the great business of which is the discovery of truth, and the instruction of those to whom it is revealed (z).

Having quitted his employments, the earl of Nottingham retired to the calmer scenes of private life, and passed the few remaining years of his existence, amongst his family, and friends (a). His character hath been thus drawn by the historian (b) to whose researches

(x) Roberti Johnstoni *Rerum Britannicarum Historiæ*, Lib. 18. p. 37.—Rushworth's collections, V. 1. p. 307, 378, 379.—Sanderson's History of James I. p. 439.

(y) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 522.

(z) Ibid.

(a) He died, on the fourteenth of December, in the year one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-four, and, at the age of eighty-eight*. On the twenty-third of the same month, his body was buried in the family-vault, under the chancel of the church of Ryegate, in Surry. His first wife was Catharine, daughter of Henry Cary, lord Hunsdon; and his issue by her, were William, and Charles Howard, (the last of whom succeeded him in his honours,) and three daughters. The fruits of his second marriage with Margaret, the daughter of James, earl of Murray, were two sons, James who died in his minority, and Charles Howard, who received the honour of knighthood, and, by the death of his brother, became, afterwards, earl of Nottingham.

* Catalogue of nobility deceased in the reign of king James I. MS.

(b) Mr. Campbell—*Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 522.

searches we are particularly indebted for the materials of this memoir,

The natural integrity of his disposition had rendered him incapable of committing a base Action (c), and such was his abhorrence of the guilt which he observed in others, that no consideration could prevail on him to suppress it. His steady loyalty to the crown preserved his reputation spotless, and his fortune unimpaired, whilst the rest of his family were in the utmost danger (d). Elizabeth, who knew, and valued his integrity, preferred his candour to the policy of some of her greatest favourites, and frequently remarked that he was born to serve, and save his country. Her peculiar felicity in suiting employments to the capacity of her warriors, and Statesmen, was, at no Period more conspicuous than in her choice of Nottingham, whose intrepidity could not be lessened by a sense of danger, and whose fidelity was incorruptible.

The magnificence which he displayed in his public character, was, in private life, exchanged for hospitality; a virtue which he carried to such lengths that he kept (to use the expression of doctor Fuller (e)), seven standing houses, at once. It must be confessed that

(e) It is with pain that we contradict this encomium, and remind the reader of an account * too well authenticated. How melancholy is the consideration that Nottingham, the brave preserver of his country, should have descended to an act of pusillanimous revenge! The public services of the Hero are almost cancelled by the barbarity of the Murderer.—Bacon's Papers, p. 365.—Walpole's royal, and noble authors, V. 1. Article Essex.

* Volume the second of this work, p. 432, 433.

(d) Camden.—Sir Robert Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*.—Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 751.

(e) *English Worthies*, Surry, p. 84.

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that the character, and conduct of the earl of Nottingham hath been placed in unfavourable points of view ; but, let it be remembered that the writer who reproached him was influenced by the violence of prejudice ; and that the rough, and martial behaviour of the heroes in the active service of Elizabeth was ill-suited to the stiff, and solemn air of those statesmen who composed the court of James, and to whom it was natural that Nottingham should appear disgusting (*f*). His actions are sufficient to silence envy, and to destroy the credit of malicious censurers. He who vanquished the Armada, equipped, in the space of fourteen days, a fleet sufficient to maintain the sovereignty of the ocean, and, by his presence alone (*g*), dispirited the adherents of the earl of *Essex*, must have been an extraordinary man, although we should grant that he had enemies, was not learned, expressed himself somewhat bluntly, and, notwithstanding his exalted rank, betrayed almost a total ignorance of those arts which howsoever common, are yet disgraceful in the courts of princes.

(*f*) See a letter from the earl of Northampton, to Sir Charles Cornwallis, ambassador to the court of Spain. Winwood's Memorials, v. 2. p. 91.

(*g*) The idea of the gallant Essex, and his associates, intimidated by the presence alone of Nottingham, is too extravagant. In the heat of panegyric, Mr. Campbell, like a multitude of encomiasts, seems to have trespassed on probability.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
IN TWO VOLUMES
BY NATHANIEL BENTLEY
OF THE BOSTON BAR
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M E M O I R S

O F

Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT, K N I G H T.

THIS illustrious adventurer was descended from a long line of honourable ancestors, who had been settled in the county of Devon, at least as early, and (if the authority of some writers can be depended on,) even before the conquest (a). He was the second son of Otho Gilbert, of Greenway, esquire, by Catharine, the daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, in the same County. (This Lady was married, afterwards, to Walter Raleigh; of Fardel Esquire, and in consequence of that Union, became mother to the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh (b).)

It was to her care that he stood indebted for those advantages of education, (at Eton, first, and, afterwards, at Oxford,) which enabled him to fill a distinguished place in life, and obtain a pre-eminence

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during

(a) Collection of arms, &c. of the ancient families of Devonshire, by Sir John Northcote, Baronet, MS.

(b) Sir William Pole's description of Devonshire. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 1. p. 524.

during an era productive of illustrious men (c). His advancement was, also, much facilitated through the interest of an aunt (d), who obtained a permission from Elizabeth to introduce him to her presence. The queen, charmed with the politeness of his behaviour, his taste for literature, and the apparent Liberality of his disposition, recommended him, as a youth of merit, and promising Abilities, to Sir Henry Sidney, the chief governour of Ireland. The favourite studies of Gilbert were Cosmography, Navigation, and the Art of War. With these, he was equally conversant in Theory, and in Practice; and is recorded, bravely to have exposed his person, at an early period, in the service of his country, acquiring a distinguished Reputation, by his military Conduct, previous to his Engagement in more important Projects (e).

The first instances of his mature judgment, and enterprising spirit were particularly conspicuous on the expedition to Newhaven, where his attempts were followed by such success, as contributed not only to the establishment of his Fame, but to the augmentation of his Fortune. The clear, and persuasive Manner in which, either as a Speaker, or an Author, He maintained the Rectitude of his own Conduct, or apologized for those measures which had been pursued by others, was so pleasing to the great officers, in the service of Elizabeth, that they recommended him to their sovereign, as a sagacious Warrior, the exertions of whose intrepidity, and talents, might be directed to the

(c) Risdon's Survey of Devonshire, V. 1. p. 152, 172.—Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 260.

(d) Mrs. Catharine Ashley.

(e) Supply of Irish Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.—Fuller's Worthies in Devonshire, p. 260.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 525.

the most salutary purposes, in Ireland, where men of the first abilities were so particularly wanted (*f*). The conceptions of these statesmen coincided with the views of our adventurer, and with that ambition which made him zealous to exalt his character, by great achievements. Having embraced the offers of the court, he proceeded, instantly, to Munster, and, assuming the command, began those enterprizes which were, afterwards, successful (*g*).

Without entering minutely into the circumstances of his military operations, in Ireland, let it be sufficient to remark, that, amongst other exploits, performed in conjunction with his relation, Sir Walter Raleigh, he composed the disturbances which had been raised by the Mac-Arthies; drove the Butlers, who had broken their allegiance, from his province, and obliged Fitz-Maurice, one of the most formidable chieftains amongst the Irish, to forsake his country, and flee, for safety, into Spain (*h*).

A naval historian (*i*), after having observed that it is not positive whether the honour of knighthood was conferred on Mr. Gilbert, previous, or subsequent to his departure from Ireland; and that there are authorities on both Sides of the question (*k*), adds that he

B 3 pro-

(*f*). Stowe; p. 842.—Sidney-Papers, V. 1. p. 28.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 526.

(*g*). Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 526.

(*h*). Ibid.—Camden, V. 1. p. 198, 199.—Sidney-Papers, V. 1. p. 36, 37, 38, 39.—Cox's History of Ireland, p. 333.

(*i*). Mr. Campbell.

(*k*). Prince's Worthies of Devonshire: where he is first mentioned to have been knighted, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy; and, afterwards, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-seven; but, in both places, the author asserts (from a manuscript belonging to Sir William Pole,) that the dignity was conferred by queen Elizabeth.

probably, received that dignity from the chief governor, Sir Henry Sidney, about the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy; and that he did not return to England, until some years afterwards (*l*). Whether Sir Humphrey Gilbert was knighted by Elizabeth, at her own court, or, by Sir Henry Sidney, in Ireland, is a point which we shall not pretend to settle. It is, however, certain that he was in England, during the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-one, and spoke in that parliament which met, at Westminster, on the second of April, and was dissolved on the twenty-ninth of May, in the same year. As the circumstance to which we allude conveys a striking idea of the political character of Sir Humphrey, it may not be improper briefly to relate it.

A company of merchants, residing at Bristol, had obtained an exclusive patent from the queen. Soon afterwards, it was excepted against, in the house of commons, by Robert Bell, a member, and a Puritan. In a short time from this event, a message was delivered to the speaker, from Elizabeth, who laid her interdictions against unnecessary motions, and long Debates. The commons were, now, apprehensive that their sovereign was offended at the discussion of a point which affected her prerogative (*m*). It was remarked, by Fleetwood, that the queen enjoyed the privilege of granting patents; that to call in question their validity was, in effect, to invade the royal prerogative; that all foreign Commerce was absolutely dependant on the pleasure of the crown, which might issue prohibitions, even in defiance of the statute establishing a liberty of trade; and that whensoever an
exclu,

(*l*) Supply of Irish Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(*m*) D'Ewes, p. 159.

exclusive patent was granted by the prince, He only employed the power vested in him, and forbad all others to engage in any particular branch of commerce. In this speech, Fleetwood referred to the clerk of the parliament's book, in support of his assertion that no man might speak in the house, concerning the statute of wills, unless the sovereign first gave licence, because the royal prerogative in the wards was thereby touched. He, also, quoted the statutes of Edward, the third, and Henry, the fourth, as making mention of a saving of the prerogative (n).

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, still more zealous in his defence of regal privileges, called the motion, which had been made by Bell, a vain Device, and perilous to be treated of. He remarked that its aim was the derogation of the prerogative imperial; and that those who, even in imagination, should side with this attempt, must be considered as declared enemies to the crown. He asked, what particular difference there was between saying that the queen is not to use the privilege of the crown, and observing that she is not queen? and added, that although experience had shewn so much clemency in her majesty, as might, perhaps, make the subjects forget their duty, it was not good to sport, or venture too far with princes. He alluded to the alarming consequences which might result from either hearing, or suffering so dangerous a doctrine, in the fable of the hare, who, being informed that all the horned beasts were ordered, by proclamation, to depart the court, fled instantly, lest his ears should be construed to be horns. He closed his speech by requesting of the members to take heed, lest, if they persisted to interfere in these points, the

B 4

Queen

(n) D'Ewes, p. 160.

queen might look to her own power, and, conscious of her ability to extirpate their challenged liberty, and maintain an arbitrary sway, pursue the conduct of Lewis, the eleventh, of France, who "delivered the crown from Wardship (e)." 11

A speech so very courtly was far from meeting with a favourable reception, yet, at this period, the only reply was that Sir Humphrey had mistaken the meaning of the house, and of the member who made the motion; and that their sole intention was to represent, in due, and seemly form, their grievances unto the queen. At a subsequent debate, Peter Wentworth, another puritan, whose name deserves to be recorded with the Hampdens, Miltons, Sidney's, and Russels of a later æra (p), called the speech which had been made by Sir Humphrey, an insult on the house of commons; reproached him with a propensity to fawn upon his sovereign; compared him to the Cameleon, which can change itself into all colours, except white; and recommended to the house a due care of the liberty of speech, and of the privileges of parliament (q). Farther to pursue the subject is foreign to our purpose; but it is impossible to conclude it, without lamenting that the hero whose martial character was irreproachable, should, in his senatorial capacity, have sacrificed the feelings of humanity to the most abject extravagance

(e) D'Ewes, p. 168.

(p) We would intreat the English reader, who feels the value of his Liberty, to attend to the debates of that session of parliament which was holden on the eighth of February, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-six. He will find it difficult to restrain his Admiration, and astonishment, whensoever he reflects on the spirit, and understanding of Wentworth.—See D'Ewes, p. 236, 237, 241, 244, 259, &c.

(q) D'Ewes, p. 175.

gance of loyalty; and have contended for the propriety, and existence of a patent, which, whilst it enriched four merciless, and avaritious courtiers, brought on the ruin of seven thousand industrious subjects (r).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-six, Sir Humphrey Gilbert published his treatise concerning the discovery of a North-West passage to the East-Indies. At the conclusion of this performance (which, in the Opinion of a discerning Writer (s) is plain, methodical, and judicious,) the author signified his intention of producing another essay on navigation, which he had written, but which, now, is probably destroyed (t). In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-three, he embraced the Resolution of establishing a colony in America, for which purpose, the queen had issued her letters patent, in the terms that follow (u).

"ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, queen of England, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye, that of our especial grace, certain science, and mere motion, we have given, and granted, and, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give, and grant to our trusty, and well-beloved servant, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Compton, in our county of Devonshire, knight, and to his heirs, and assigns, for ever, free liberty, and licence, from time to time, and at all times, for ever, hereafter, to discover, find, search out, and view such remote, " hea-

(r) D'Ewes, p. 242.

(s) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 527.

(t) See Hackluyt's Voyages, V. 3. p. 11.

(u) Camden.—Harris's Col. Part I. p. 583.—Hackluyt's Voyages, Part III. p. 135.

“ heathen, and barbarous lands, countries, and territories not actually possessed of by any christian prince, or people, as to him, his heirs, and assigns, and to every, or any of them shall seem good, and the same to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy to him, his heirs, and assigns, for ever, with all commodities, jurisdictions, and royalties, both by Sea, and land; and the said Sir Humphrey, and all such, as from time, to time, by licence of us, our heirs, and successors, shall go, and travel thither, to inhabit, or remain there, to build, and fortify, at the discretion of the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and assigns, and every of them, the statute, or acts of parliament made against fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remain, or continue out of our realm of England, without Licence, or any other act, statute, law, or Matter whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And we do, likewise, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, give full authority, and power to the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and assigns, and every of them, that he, and they, or every, and any of them, shall, and may, at all, and every time, or times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the same voyages, to travel thitherward, and to inhabit there, with him, and every, or any of them, such, and so many of our subjects, as shall willingly accompany him, and them, and every, or any of them, with sufficient shipping, and Furniture for their transportation, so that none of the same persons, nor any of them, be such as hereafter shall be specially restrained by us, our heirs, and successors. And farther, that, he, the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and assigns, and every, or any of them, shall have, hold, occupy, and enjoy to him, his heirs, and assigns, and every

“ of

“ of them, for ever, all the soil of such lands, coun-
 “ tries, and territories, so to be discovered, or possess-
 “ ed, as aforesaid, and of all cities, castles, towns,
 “ and villages, and places in the same, with the
 “ rights, royalties, and jurisdictions, as well marine,
 “ as other, within the said lands, or countries of the
 “ Seas thereunto adjoining, to be had, or used, with
 “ full power to dispose thereof, and every part there-
 “ of, in fee-simple, or otherwise, according to the or-
 “ der of the laws of England, as near as the same con-
 “ veniently may be, at his, and their will, and plea-
 “ sure, to any person then being, or that shall remain,
 “ within the allegiance of us, our heirs, and succef-
 “ sors, paying unto us, for all services, duties and
 “ demands, the fifth part of all the ore of gold, and
 “ silver, that, from time to time, and, at all times,
 “ after such discovery, subduing, and possessing shall
 “ be there gotten. All which lands, countries, and
 “ territories shall for ever be holden by the said Sir
 “ Humphry, his heirs, and assigns, of us, our heirs,
 “ and successors by homage, and by the said payment
 “ of the said fifth parts, before reserved only for all
 “ services.”

“ And, moreover, we do, by these presents, for us,
 “ our heirs, and successors, give and grant licence,
 “ to the said Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his heirs, or as-
 “ signs, and to every of them, that he, and they,
 “ and every, and any of them shall, and may, from
 “ time, to time, and at all times, for ever, hereafter,
 “ for his, and their defence, encounter, expulse, repel,
 “ and resist, as well by sea, as land, and by all other
 “ ways whatsoever, all, and every such person, and
 “ persons whatsoever, as, without the special licence,
 “ and liking of the said Sir Humphrey, and of his
 “ heirs, and assigns, shall attempt to inhabit within
 “ the

“ the said countries, or any of them, or within the
“ space of two hundred leagues near to the place, or
“ places within such countries, as aforesaid, if they
“ shall not be before planted, or inhabited, within the
“ limits aforesaid, with the subjects of any christian
“ prince, being in amity with her majesty, where the
“ said Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or assigns, or any of
“ them, or his, or their, or any of their associates, or
“ companies, shall, within six years next ensuing,
“ make their dwellings, and abidings, or that shall en-
“ terprize, or attempt, at any time hereafter, unlaw-
“ fully to annoy, either by sea, or land, the said Sir
“ Humphrey, his heirs, and assigns, or any of Them,
“ or his, or their, or any of their companies. Giving,
“ and granting by these presents, farther power, and
“ authority to the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or
“ assigns, and every of them, from time, to time,
“ and, at all times, for ever, hereafter, to take, and
“ surprize, by all manner of means whatsoever, all, and
“ every person, and persons, with their ships, vessels,
“ and other goods, and furniture which, without the
“ licence of the said Sir Humphrey, or his heirs, or
“ assigns, as aforesaid, shall be found trafficking in
“ any harbour, or harbours, creek or creeks, with-
“ in the limits aforesaid, (the subjects of our realms,
“ and dominions, and all other persons in amity with
“ us, being driven by force of tempest, or ship-
“ wreck, only excepted,) and those persons, and every
“ of them, with their ships, vessels, goods, and Fur-
“ niture, to detain, and possess, as of good, and lawful
“ prizes, according to the discretion of him the said
“ Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and assigns, and of every,
“ or any of them. And, for uniting, in more perfect
“ league, and amity of such countries, lands, and
“ territories, so as to be possessed, and inhabited, as
“ afore-

“aforesaid, with our realms of England, and Ireland,
 “and for the better encouragement of men to this
 “enterprize, we do, by these presents, grant, and de-
 “clare, that all such countries, so hereafter to be pos-
 “sessed, and inhabited, as aforesaid, from thenceforth
 “shall be of the allegiance of us, our heirs, and suc-
 “cessors. And we do grant to the said Sir Humphrey,
 “his heirs, and assigns, and to all, and every of them,
 “and to all, and every other person, and persons, be-
 “ing of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted,
 “and entered in some of our courts of record, within
 “this our realm of England, and that with the assent
 “of the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or assigns, shall
 “now in this journey for discovery, or in the second
 “journey for conquest, hereafter, travel to such
 “lands, countries, and territories as aforesaid, and
 “to their, and every of their heirs; that they, and
 “every, or any of them, being either born within
 “our said realms of England, or Ireland, or within any
 “other place, within our allegiance, and which, here-
 “after, shall be inhabiting within any of the lands,
 “countries, and territories, with such Licence as
 “aforesaid, shall, and may have, and enjoy all the pri-
 “vileges of free denizens, and persons, natives of
 “England, and within our allegiance, any law, cus-
 “tom, or usage to the contrary, notwithstanding.”

“And forasmuch, as upon the finding out, discover-
 “ing, and inhabiting of such remote lands, countries,
 “and territories as aforesaid, it shall be necessary for
 “the safety of all men that shall adventure them-
 “selves in those journeyes, or voyages, to determine to
 “live together in christian peace, and civil quiet-
 “ness, each with other, whereby every one may, with
 “more pleasure, and profit, enjoy that whereunto
 “they shall obtain, with great pain, and peril; we,
 “for

“ for us, our heirs, and successors, are, likewise,
“ pleased, and contented, and, by these presents, do
“ give, and grant to the said Sir Humphrey, and his
“ heirs, and assigns for ever, that he, and they, and
“ every, or any of them, shall, and may, from time,
“ to time, for ever hereafter, within the said men-
“ tioned remote lands, and countries, and, in the
“ way, by the seas thither, and from thence, have full,
“ and mere power, and authority to correct, punish,
“ pardon, govern, and rule by their, and every, or any
“ of their good discretions, and politics, as well in
“ causes capital, or criminal, as civil, both marine, and
“ others, as shall, from time, to time hereafter ad-
“ venture themselves in the said journies, or voyages,
“ habitative, or possessive, or that shall, at any time
“ hereafter inhabit any such land, countries, or ter-
“ ritories, as aforesaid, or shall abide within two
“ hundred leagues of any of the said place, or places
“ where the said Sir Humphrey, or his heirs, or assigns,
“ or any of them, or any of his, or their associates,
“ or Companies, shall inhabit within six years, next
“ ensuing the date hereof according to such statutes,
“ laws, and ordinances, as shall be by him, the said
“ Sir Humphry, his heirs, and assigns, or every, and
“ any of them, devised, and established for the better
“ government of the said people, as aforesaid, so al-
“ ways that they be, as near as conveniently may,
“ agreeable to the form of the laws, and policy of
“ England. And, also, that they be not against the
“ true christian faith, or religion, now preferred in
“ the church of England, nor, in any wise, to with-
“ draw any of the subjects, or people of those lands,
“ or places, from the allegiance of us, our heirs, and
“ successors, as their immediate sovereigns, under
“ God. And further, we do, by these presents, for
“ us

"us, our heirs and successors, give, and grant full
 "power, and authority to our trusty, and well-beloved
 "counsellor, Sir William Cecil, knight; lord Bur-
 "leigh, our high treasurer of England, and to the
 "lord treasurer of England, of us, for the time be-
 "ing, and to the privy-council of us, our heirs, and
 "Successors, or any four of them, for the time be-
 "ing, that he, they, or any of them shall, and may,
 "from time, to time, and at all times hereafter,
 "under his, or their hands, or seals, by virtue of
 "these presents, authorize, and licence the said Sir
 "Humphrey Gilbert his heirs, and assigns, and every,
 "or any of them, by him, and themselves, or by
 "their, or any of their sufficient attornies, deputies,
 "officers, ministers, factors, and servants, to em-
 "bark, and transport out of our realms of England,
 "and Ireland, all, or any of his, or their goods, and
 "all, or any of the goods of his, or their associates,
 "and companies, and every, or any of them, with
 "such other necessities, and commodities of any of
 "our realms, as to the said lord treasurer, or four of
 "the privy-council of us, our heirs, or successors
 "for the time being, as aforesaid, shall be, from
 "time, to time, by his, or their wisdoms, or dis-
 "cretions, thought meet, and convenient, for the bet-
 "ter relief, and supportation of him, the said Sir
 "Humphrey, his heirs, and assigns, and, every, or any
 "of them, and his, or their, and every, or any of
 "their said associates, and companies, any act, sta-
 "tute, law, or other thing, to the contrary, in any
 "wise, notwithstanding."

"Provided always, and our will, and pleasure is,
 "and we do hereby declare to all christian kings,
 "princes, and states, that if the said Sir Humphrey,
 "his heirs, or assigns, or any of them, or any other,
 "by

" by their licence, or appointment, shall, at any
 " time, or times, hereafter, rob, or spoil, by sea, or
 " by land, or do any act of unjust, and unlawful hos-
 " tility, to any of the subjects of us, our heirs, or
 " successors, or any of the subjects of any king,
 " prince, ruler, governor, or state, being then in
 " perfect league, and amity with us, our heirs, or
 " successors; and that upon such injury, or upon just
 " complaint of any such prince, ruler, governor, or
 " state, or their subjects, we, our heirs, or succes-
 " sors, shall make open proclamation within any of the
 " ports of our realm of England commodious, that
 " the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or assigns, or any
 " others to whom these our letters patent may extend,
 " shall, within the term to be limited by such procla-
 " mations, make full restitution, and satisfaction of
 " all injuries done, so as both we, and the said princes,
 " or others, so complaining, may hold us, and them-
 " selves fully contented; and, that if the said Sir Hum-
 " phrey, his heirs, and assigns, shall not make, or
 " cause to be made satisfaction accordingly, within
 " such time so to be limited; then it shall be lawful
 " to us, our heirs, and successors, to put the said Sir
 " Humphrey, his heirs, assigns, and adherents, and all
 " the inhabitants of the said places, to be discovered
 " as is aforesaid, or any of them, out of our allegi-
 " ance, and protection; and that from, and after such
 " a time of putting out of protection, the said Sir
 " Humphrey, and his heirs, assigns, adherents, and
 " others, so to be put out, and the said places within
 " their habitation, possession, and rule, shall be out
 " of our protection, and allegiance, and free for all
 " princes, and others, to pursue, with hostility, as be-
 " ing not our subjects, nor by us any way to be al-
 " lowed, maintained, or defended; nor to be holden as
 " any

"any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion, or
 "allegiance, any way belonging, for that express
 "mention, &c. In witness whereof, &c. witness
 "ourselves, at Westminster, the eleventh day of June,
 "in the twentieth year of our reign, and in the year
 "of our Lord, one thousand, five hundred, and se-
 "venty-eight."

Per ipsam Reginam, &c.

Having obtained his patent, Sir Humphrey endeavoured to procure associates in the enterprize, and was, at first, encouraged, by offers of support from numbers who declared their Resolution to attend him on the voyage. When the vessels were compleatly equipped, and the crews assembled near the coast, in readiness to embark, the majority of the adventurers departed from their agreements, and signified their Intention of reserving their property for the support of plans concerted by themselves (x). Sir Humphrey, superior to disappointments, was, still, determined to proceed upon the voyage, and, with the few friends who yet remained unshaken in their attachment, sailed instantly for Newfoundland, from whence, after a short, and fruitless stay, he came back to England (y). On the passage, he was intercepted by a small squadron of Spanish ships, from which he narrowly escaped, with the loss of one vessel.

The great expences incurred by Sir Humphrey, in preparations for the enterprize, and its subsequent miscarriage, had so impaired his estate, that he was compelled, for some time, to desist from the Resumption

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of

(x) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 145.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 1369.—Risdon's Survey of Devonshire, V. 2. p. 205.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 528.

(y) This appears to have been the Summer of the year one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-eight.

of his project. He, now, assigned to persons of extensive fortune, a tract of land in the northern parts of America, and adjacent to the river of Canada, for the purpose of establishing a colony; but the adventurers were so dilatory in their proceedings, that he was reduced to the necessity of accelerating his second expedition, and repairing to the place, of which, if he had not actually taken possession, before the expiration of six years, the patent must have become void (z).

Assisted by Sir George Peckham, and other friends, who, liberally, contributed to the expences of his enterprize, Sir Humphrey, who had disposed of his estate, equipped a small Fleet, consisting of five ships, and barks. He took the command of the *Delight*, which was the admiral, and of the burden of one hundred, and twenty tons; and appointed William Winter, who was, in part, an owner, to be captain. Richard Clarke acted as master.

The other vessels were the *Raleigh*, vice-admiral, fitted out by Sir Walter, (at that period, Mr. Raleigh,) and of the burden of two hundred tons. She was commanded by captain Butler; and the master was Robert Davis, of Bristol. The *Golden Hind*, rear-admiral, of the burden of forty tons; Edward Hayes, captain, and owner, and William Cox, of Limehouse, master. The *Swallow*, of the burden of forty tons, Maurice Brown, captain. The *Squirrel*, of the burden of ten tons, William Andrews, captain, and one Cade, the master. The number of men on board of the whole fleet amounted to two hundred, and sixty; and amongst these were several shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smiths, miners, and refiners (a).

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(z) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 165.

(a) Risdon's Survey of Devonshire, V. 2. p. 205, 206. —Narborough's Voyages, edition, 1711. P. 13. —Birch's Memoirs of queen Elizabeth, V. 1. p. 34.

It had been resolved by the proprietors that their ships should steer their course, northerly, and follow, with all possible exactitude, the trade-way to Newfoundland, from whence, having obtained a proper supply of necessaries, they were to sail towards the south, and to enter every river, or bay, which might appear deserving of their notice. At the same time, the proprietors drew up the orders, necessary to be observed during the course of the voyage, and delivered copies of them in writing to all the captains, and masters of the vessels.

On the eleventh of June, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-three, the fleet proceeded from Plymouth, and, on the thirteenth of the same month, the Raleigh (which was the largest ship,) returned into the harbour. Two reasons were assigned for this desertion; the first, a conspiracy to set aside the voyage; and the second, (which is the most probable,) a contagious distemper that, violently affecting the captain, and several of his crew, prevented them from navigating the vessel. After the departure of the Raleigh, the Golden Hind was considered as the vice-admiral.

On the thirtieth of July, and, in about fifty-one degrees, they first discovered land. It was, however, seen imperfectly, neither on account of the intense fog, could they take the altitude of the sun. They, now, steered along the coast, and to the southward, the wind remaining favourable, until they reached the island of Baccalaos. At this place, they were rejoined by the Swallow, which, during the fog, had been separated from the fleet. She had intercepted a fishing bark, on its return from Newfoundland, and seized the tackle, sails, cables, provision, and other articles. Soon afterwards, the ships proceeded farther to

the southward, and, on the third of August, entered the harbour of Saint John. At the mouth of it, they found the Squirrel, which had been refused admittance by the other vessels (of different nations, and amounting to thirty-six sail,) that were within. Sir Humphrey prepared to open a passage for the ships, by Force; but, previous to the intended commission of hostilities, dispatched some officers, in the boat, to acquaint the masters of the fishing barks, that he was empowered by Elizabeth, to take possession, in her name, of the adjacent lands; and, that if he met with the least resistance, he should instantly endeavour to bring them to submission. It was answered that their designs were peaceable, and that they had only waited to be fully apprized of the Nature of the Expedition undertaken by Sir Humphrey, whom, in token of their respect, they cheerfully intrusted with a discretionary power of laying a tax on their provisions, for the purpose of supplying the necessities of his fleet. All the vessels, now, safely entered within the harbour, the Delight excepted, which, too carelessly navigated by the mariners, was dashed against a Rock; but, after having suffered some inconsiderable damage, was towed off by the boats belonging to the fishing barks. On the day following, Sir Humphrey, (who was stiled the general,) and his associates were conducted on shore, by the masters, and owners of the English vessels.

On the fifth, having ordered a tent to be erected within sight of all the ships, which amounted nearly to forty sail, he summoned the English, and foreign merchants to attend, whilst with the whole of his own company, he took a formal possession of the place, and its adjoining territories. In the presence of these persons, he caused the commission, under the great seal of England, to be openly read, and afterwards,

wards, explained to the foreigners, who were not conversant with the English language. In a speech, he acquainted the assembly that, under the royal authority, he stood possessed of the harbour of Saint John, and all the adjacent land within the circumference of two hundred leagues (*b*); that, thenceforward, the witnesses of this transaction, and, through their information, all persons whatsoever, must consider these territories as appertaining to the sovereign of England; and acknowledge that he, the general of Elizabeth, was empowered, by royal licence, to possess, and enjoy them; and, likewise, to enact laws for the government thereof, as nearly conformable as the nature of circumstances would admit to the spirit of the English constitution; under which regulations it was expected that all Adventurers who might arrive, at future times, either to dwell within the place, or maintain a traffic with the inhabitants, should, quietly, be governed.

The three first laws, which were immediately passed by the general, in his juridical capacity, were, that the public exercise of religion should be conducted according to the rites, and ceremonies of the church of England.

That if any person should attempt to commit the least act which might prove prejudicial to the maintenance of the queen's right, and possession of those territories, the offenders should be adjudged, and executed, as in cases of high treason, according to the laws of England.

C 3

That

(*b*) On this occasion, the customary ceremony of delivering a rod, and a turf from the soil, to the new proprietor, was performed in the presence of the assembly, at which juncture, Sir Humphrey entered possession for himself, his heirs, and assigns, for ever.

That if any person should utter expressions injurious to the honour of Elizabeth, he should be punished by the loss of ears, and the confiscation of his ship, and goods.

Immediately on the promulgation of these edicts, the whole assembly, as well foreigners, as English, signified their resolution to obey them, and were, immediately, dismissed. On the spot where they had been convened, the general erected a wooden pillar, to which was affixed the arms of England, engraven on lead. Farther to establish this possession, not only in right of Elizabeth, but, for the emolument of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his heirs, and assigns, for ever, several parcels of land, contiguous to the sea-side, and lying either near the harbour of Saint John, or elsewhere, were granted in fee-farm. The tenants were under covenant to pay a certain rent, and service to Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and assigns, for ever; and yearly to maintain possession of the lands, by themselves, or by their assigns.

A party of the English, under the command of the general, were now employed to collect those taxes on provisions, which had been granted by the owners of the different ships engaged in fisheries on the adjoining coast. Others were busied in repairing vessels; whilst the remainder received directions to make excursions through the country, and along the shore, that they might obtain a full account of the terrestrial, and marine productions.

The result of their discoveries was that the southern parts seemed destitute of inhabitants; a circumstance which, probably, was owing to the frequent appearance of the Europeans, whose presence, intimidating the natives, might have constrained them to relinquish their abodes. Towards the north, they met with the savages,

vages, who approached without dread, and were of gentle dispositions. Here it was, that a Saxon miner, (of the name of Daniel,) to whom the general had particularly recommended a search for metals, found a kind of ore which greatly resembled iron. The next discovery was, in his opinion, a pleasing earnest of the future affluence of Sir Humphrey, and his associates; and he ventured to pronounce, on peril of his life, that a second species of ore, which he produced, was absolutely composed of silver (c).

That the general relied on the assertions of *Daniel*, is evident from his answer to Hays, (the captain of the *Golden Hind*,) when he seemed to call in question the quality, and value of the ore, and desired that he might be suffered to keep part of it. "Content yourself," (observed Sir Humphrey,) "I have seen enough; and, were it not to satisfy my private humour, I would proceed no farther. The engagements which I am under to my friends, and the necessity of bringing the southern countries, also, within the compass of my patent, (which is nearly expired,) as we have already brought these northern parts, do alone prevail upon me to continue the voyage. As for the ore, I have sent it on board, and desire that no farther mention may be made of it, so long as we shall remain in the harbour; there being Portuguese, Biscayans, and French, not far off, from whom this discovery must be kept a secret. When we are at sea, an essay shall be made of it; and then, if we think proper, we may return, the sooner thither."

At this Period, whilst the few faithful companions of the general were endeavouring to accelerate the preparations for a voyage, a number had conspired to

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pre-

prevent it. It was timely, and fortunately discovered that one party intended to have seized the vessels, in the dead of night, and during the absence of Sir Humphrey and the commanders, to have proceeded immediately for *England*. Others, more successful in their treachery, had conveyed away from one of the adjoining harbours, a vessel freighted with fish, and set the crew on shore. Several of the mariners had concealed themselves within the woods, where they watched for opportunities to return home in ships which departed daily from the coast. Many were languishing under fluxes, and other violent disorders; and some had been permitted, by the general, to repair to *England*. Amidst this decrease of numbers, it became impossible to navigate the vessels; and orders were issued that the *Swallow*, (the command of which was now given to captain William Winter,) laden with such provisions as were not absolutely wanted by Sir Humphrey, and his associates, should receive the invalids on board, and return home.

When the *Swallow* was departed, the three remaining ships were immediately supplied with all necessities for the continuance of the enterprize. As the *Squirrel*, a light, and expeditious sailer, was the best constructed for the purpose of entering creeks, and harbours, the Command of her was taken by the general, on whom captain Maurice Brown attended in the *Delight*, and captain Edward Hayes, in the *Golden Hind*. On the twentieth of August, they sailed from the harbour of Saint John, which, from an exact observation, they had discovered to be in forty-seven degrees, and forty minutes of north latitude. In the following night, they reached Cape Race, at the distance of twenty-five leagues. From thence, they sailed, in eight degrees more, nearly eighty-seven leagues towards Cape Breton.

On

On the twenty-seventh, and in the latitude of forty-five degrees, Sir Humphrey gave orders for the crew to sound, and, at the depth of thirty-five fathom, they discovered white sand. In the succeeding afternoon, the wind veered to the southward, when, in opposition to the advice of William Cox, the master of the Golden Hind, the ships bore in with the land, during the whole night, at west-north-west.

On the twenty-ninth, the wind blew violently at south, and by east; the rain descended in storms; and the mists were so extremely thick, that the mariners could not distinguish any object, at a cable's length. Towards day-break, they were alarmed by the appearance of surrounding shoals, and sands; and, at every third, or fourth ship's length, observed the water lessening in its depth. A signal was now, thrown out for the Delight to stand off to sea; but, in the moment that it was made, she struck; and, soon afterwards, her stern, and quarters, were dashed to pieces. Immediately, the Squirrel, and Golden Hind, casting about east-south-east, and bearing to the south, with much difficulty, got clear of the shoals, and regained the open sea.

In the Delight, perished captain Maurice Brown, and nearly an hundred of his associates, who, with a resolution that bordered upon madness, refused to set (what they imagined was) an ill example, nor would desert the ship, although convinced it was impossible to save her. Fourteen of the crew, more eager to preserve their lives, leaped into a small pinnace. For a short time, they remained along side, in hopes of being joined by the captain. At length, disappointed in their expectations; they prevailed on Richard Clarke, the master of the Delight, and one of his companions, to quit the vessel. Having cut the rope, they, now,
ven-

ventured out to sea ; furnished only with a single oar, and destitute both of fresh water and provisions. As the pinnacle appeared over-laden, Edward Headly, who deemed it just that some should perish in order to preserve the rest, recommended the casting of lots, and that out of the number on whom they should fall, four might be thrown over-board. This measure was opposed by Clarke, who, availing himself of the affectionate regard with which he was considered by his comrades (*d*), persuaded them to shun such terrible resources, and bear, with Christian fortitude, their burden of calamity.

The pinnacle was driven before the wind, during the course of six days, and nights, whilst these miserable wretches received no other sustenance than their own urine, and some weeds which they had discovered on the surface of the ocean. Sinking under the severities of thirst, hunger, intense cold, and perpetual fatigue, Headly, and a mariner, expired on the fifth day. The remaining fourteen survived ; and, on the seventh day, were fortunately driven towards the coast of Newfoundland, from whence they departed for France, on board a vessel in the service of that kingdom, and, soon afterwards, returned to England. To the regular continuance of the wind, at south, during the seven days of their alarming passage on the sea, may be attributed the preservation of their lives. Had it shifted to any other quarter, they could not possibly have made the land ; and it is not less remarkable that it changed full north, in half an hour from the time, at which they reached the shore.

This

(*d*) It was unanimously agreed that, howsoever the lots might have fallen, Clarke should be excepted from the number.

This terrible event was severely afflicting to Sir Humphrey, who not only lamented over the deaths of such a multitude of useful men, and the destruction of a valuable ship, but felt his sorrow embittered by the loss of his Saxon miner, and, with him, the silver ore which had been digged in Newfoundland, and of the value of which Sir Humphrey was so confident, that he boasted to his friends that, on the credit of the mine, he did not doubt of borrowing, from Elizabeth, ten thousand pounds, to defray the expences of another enterprize (e).

From this distressful period, the crews belonging to the Golden Hind, and Squirrel, became intimidated, and signified their apprehensions, lest (as the Delight, their store-ship, was, now, lost,) they should languish under the inclemencies of the approaching winter, and be alike destitute of raiment, and provisions. Moved by their complaints, Sir Humphrey expressed an inclination to return to England. The captain, and master of the Golden Hind, discovered a reluctance in complying with his desires; nor yielded, until He had frequently repeated: "be content; we have seen enough; take no thought of the expences which we have incurred: if the ALMIGHTY should permit us to reach England, in safety, I will set you out royally in the course of the next spring. Therefore, I pray you, let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements."

On the first of August, they changed their course, and steered for England. On the second of September, They passed in sight of Cape Race, and, soon afterwards, Sir Humphrey went on board of the Golden Hind, in order to have his foot dressed, which he

had

(e) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 155.

had accidentally wounded, by treading on a nail. The wind was, now, violent, and the ocean so extremely agitated, that captain Hayes, and his crew, who, every moment, expected that the Squirrel would be swallowed up, intreated Sir Humphrey not to return to her, but to remain on board the Golden Hind. To this request, he would not pay the least attention ; but, instantly, departed, affirming that no consideration should induce him to quit the vessel, or his brave associates, with whom he had escaped such alarming dangers. A generous, but fatal resolution ! for, on the ninth of September, and, at midnight, the Squirrel sunk, and was seen no more. In the course of the preceding evening, Sir Humphrey had been observed sitting, and reading, near the stern of the frigate, and was frequently heard to exclaim, with a loud voice : “ courage ! my “ lads ! we are as near heaven on the ocean, as at “ land (f).” Thus, he died like a christian hero, full of hope, as having the testimony of a good conscience (g). It is affirmed, by his associate in the expedition (h), that Sir Humphrey was principally determined to sail in the Squirrel, by a malicious, and false report which had been propagated of his cowardice at sea (i). Death (it hath been justly observed,) was less dreadful to him, than shame ; yet it is difficult to believe that so wise a Man could be affected by so insignificant a slander (k).

Such

(f) Camden, V. 2. p. 402.—Rifdon's Survey of Devonshire, V. 2. p. 207.—Stowe, p. 812.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 531.—Ledhard's Naval History, Folio, V. 1. p. 193, 200.—Fuller's Worthies in Devonshire, p. 261.

(g) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 531.

(h) Edward Hayes, Captain of the Golden Hind.

(i) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 159.

(k) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 1. p. 531.

Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT, Knt. 45

Such was the fate of Sir Humphry Gilbert! than whom few persons, in that *Æra*, were more distinguished by exalted understanding, and undaunted resolution. A naval historian (*l*) observes that his memoirs are particularly intitled to a place in the works of this kind, since he was, in a manner, the parent of all our plantations, being the first who introduced a legal, and regular method of settling, without which such undertakings must, necessarily, prove unsuccessful. His treatise concerning the north-west passage, was the ground of all the expectations which the most enlightened seamen had formed, during many years, of actually finding such a track to the East-Indies; and, notwithstanding that we, at present, know that a multitude of assertions advanced in this treatise must be false, yet we, likewise, discover that many of his conjectures are true, and that all of them are founded on reason, and the philosophy which, at that period, was commonly received,

It

(*l*) Mr. Campbell.—This writer, alluding to Prince, the author of “*The Worthies of Devonshire*,” introduces the following note. “He tells us, among other things, that the queen, of her particular grace, gave to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a golden anchor, with a large pearl, at the peak. If this were true, it is strange that in the prolix accounts which we have of his voyages, and in the Latin poem written expressly to do him honour, by Stephen Parmenius, an Hungarian, who accompanied him in his last voyage, there should be no mention of it.”—It may, perhaps, be some defence of Prince, to oppose the following passage (from Mr. Granger’s *History of England*, V. 1. p. 179.) to Mr. Campbell’s note.—“Sir Humphrey Gilbert always wore on his breast a golden anchor suspended to a pearl, which was given to him by the queen. There was a portrait of him in the possession of his descendants, in Devonshire with this honourable badge.”

It may not be improper to conclude the memoirs of this illustrious adventurer, by an extract from his own works, and which hath been judged (*m*) the more worthy of regard, because the later accounts of the Spanish missionaries, in California, contain attestations to the same effect.

“ There was one Salvaterra, a gentleman of Victoria, in Spain, that came, by chance, out of the West-Indies, into Ireland, in the year, one Thousand, five hundred, and sixty-eight, who affirmed the north-west passage, from us, to Cataia, constantly to be believed, in America, navigable; and farther said, in the presence of Sir Henry Sidney, (then lord deputy of Ireland,) in my hearing, that a friar of Mexico, called Andrew Urdaneta, more than eight years before his then coming into Ireland, told him that he came from Merdel Sur into Germany, through this north-west passage, and shewed Salvaterrra, (at that time, being then with him, in Mexico,) a sea-card, made by his own experience, and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly set down, and described, this north-west passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius’s map. And, farther, this friar told the king of Portugal, as He returned by that country, homewards, that there was of (certainty,) such a passage north-west from England, and that he meant to publish the same; which done, the king most earnestly desired him not in any wise to disclose, or make the passage known to any nation, for that (said the king,) if England had knowledge, and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the king of Spain and me. This
“ friar

(*m*) Campbell’s Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p 532.

“ friar (as Salvaterra reported,) was the greatest discoverer by sea that had been in our age: also, Salvaterra, being persuaded of this passage, by the friar Urdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered most willingly to accompany me, in this discovery, which it is like he would not have done, if he had stood in doubt thereof (n).”

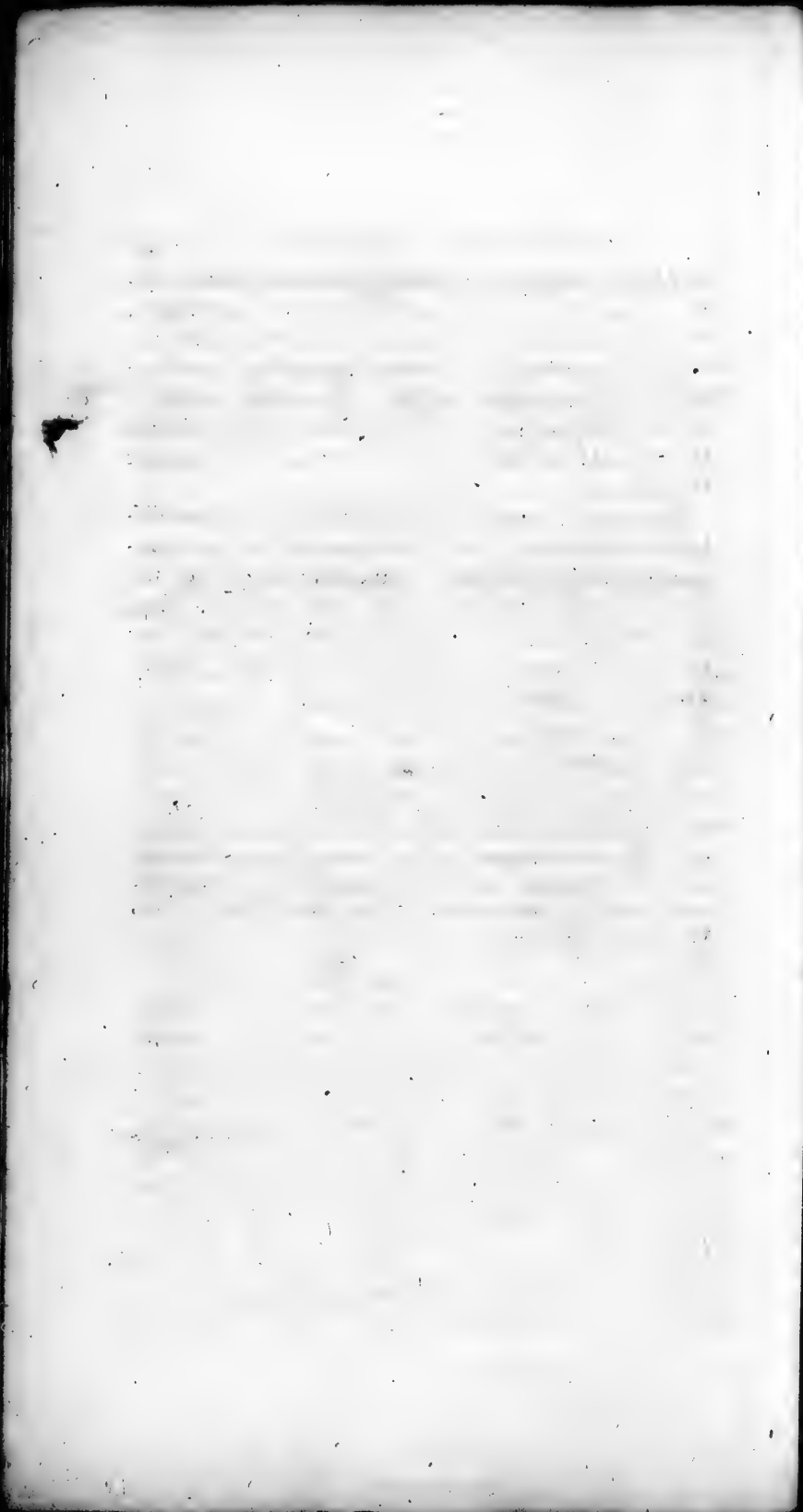
It is necessary to observe that Sir William Mason disbelieves this relation, and endeavours to refute the arguments which have been advanced in support of the discovery of the passage to the north-west (o). But, (as hath already (p) been remarked,) the question is not concerning the dispute, but the fact, which is confirmed by testimonies of a later æra (q).

(n) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 19.

(o) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 428.

(p) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 534.

(q) The Golden Hind arrived safely at Falmouth, on the twenty-second of September, and, more fortunate than the miserable remainder of the fleet, brought home the whole crew, excepting one mariner. Of the fate of the Swallow, we have no account.



M E M O I R S

O F

EDWARD FENTON.

THE Family of this gallant adventurer was seated in Nottinghamshire, until the period at which the estate fell into the joint possession of himself, and the younger brother (a). They mutually agreed to dispose of their inheritance, and employ the produce in such enterprizes as were the most suited to their genius. The mention of the first exploits of Edward will be more properly introduced in the account of expeditions undertaken by Sir Martin Frobisher. Let it be sufficient, in this place, to remark, that, favoured by the powerful interests of the earls of Leicester, Warwick, and Cumberland, he was advanced by Elizabeth to a military command, in Ireland, on his return from whence, he obtained the approbation of his sovereign, for the prudence, and intrepidity of his conduct.

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-two, he received orders from the privy council,
VOL. III. D

(a) Thornton's History of Nottinghamshire, p. 415.—
Fuller's Worthies of Nottinghamshire, p. 318.

cil, to prepare for an expedition to China, and Cathay. The ships appointed were the Galleon, Leicester, admiral, and of the burthen of four hundred tons. Of this, he assumed the command, as captain, and general. Under him, were William Hawkins, the younger, lieutenant-general, and Christopher Hall, master. The Edward-Bonaventure, vice-admiral, and of the burthen of three hundred tons. The captain was Luke Ward, and the master, Thomas Perry. The Francis, of the burthen of forty tons, John Drake, commander, and William Markham, master. The Elizabeth, of the burthen of fifty tons, Thomas Skevington, captain, and Ralph Crane, master (*b*).

A naval historian (*c*) observes that the Leicester, and the Edward-Bonaventure (both equipped by the queen, and sent out on her own account,) were superior to any vessels in the kingdom, excepting those of the royal navy, and the committee. He adds, that the chief design of the expedition was to intercept a squadron belonging to the king of Spain, in the Southern Ocean, from the territories adjoining to which came those immense treasures that, afterwards, were circulated throughout all Europe.

The following are the instructions given to Fenton, by the lords of the council, on the ninth of April, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-two.

I. "You (Edward Fenton, esquire,) shall enter, as captain-general, into the charge, and government of these ships, namely, the Bear, galleon, the Edward-Bonaventure, the bark Francis, and the small frigate, or pinnace (*d*)."

II. "You

(*b*) Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 754.

(*c*) Sir William Monson

(*d*) Notwithstanding that these vessels are mentioned in the Instructions, it is certain that only those which have been already named sailed on the Expedition.

II. " You shall appoint, for the furnishing of these vessels, in the whole, to the number of two hundred able persons, accounting in that number the gentlemen, and their men, the ministers, servants, and factors; which said number is no way to be exceeded, (whereof, as many as may be, to be seamen,) and shall distribute them into every vessel, as, by advice here, before your going, shall be thought meet: provided that you shall not receive under your charge, and government, any disorderly, or mutinous person, but that, upon knowledge had, you shall remove him, before your departure hence, or, by the way, as soon as you can conveniently avoid him, and receive better in his place."

III. " For the more, and better circumspect execution, and determination in any weighty cases, incident in this voyage, We will that You shall take unto you, for assistants, captain Hawkins, captain Ward, Mr. Nicholas Parker, Mr. Madox, Mr. Walker, Mr. Evans, Randolph Shaw, and Matthew Talboys, with whom you shall consult, and confer, in all causes, matters, and actions of importance, not provided for in these instructions, touching the service now in hand. And in all such matters so handled, argued, and debated, we think that convenient always to be executed which you shall deem meetest, with the consent also of any four of them, the matter having been debated, and so assented to, in the presence of your said assistants. And, in case that such conference, and debating of the opinions of the aforesaid assistants be found, in effect, any way to differ, then it is thought meet that all such matters so argued upon, shall rest to be put in execution, in such sort as you shall think, most meet, having the assent of any four of them, as aforesaid.

“ And, if any of these assistants shall die, then the
“ number of the one half of the survivors to join with
“ the captain-general, for consent in all things
“ aforesaid.”

IV. “ Of all which your assemblies, and consultations
“ for the matters aforesaid, we think it very conveni-
“ ent that a particular, and free note should be kept ;
“ for which cause, we appoint Mr. Madox, minis-
“ ter, and if he should decease, then the general, with
“ half of the assistants, survivors, to name one to keep
“ a book of all such matters, as shall be brought in
“ consultation, and of all such reasons as shall be pro-
“ pounded by any persons, either on the one, or on the
“ other Side ; what was resolved on, and by whose
“ consent ; who dissented from them, and for what
“ causes. In which book, he shall, in that beginning
“ of the note of every such assembly, set down, par-
“ ticularly, the day, and the place, if it may be, and
“ the names of the persons present, and upon what oc-
“ casion, the said consultation was appointed, or hold-
“ en, and shall have, to every act, the hands of the
“ general, and of all, or so many of the said assistants
“ as will subscribe ; which Book, the said master Mad-
“ ox, or the other, upon his decease, appointed in his
“ place, shall keep secret, and in good order, to be
“ exhibited unto us, when you shall return home.”

“ V. “ If there happen that any person, or persons em-
“ ployed in this service, of what calling, or conditi-
“ on, he, or they shall be, should conspire, or at-
“ tempt privately, or publicly, any treason, mutiny,
“ or other discord, either, touching the taking away of
“ your own life, or any other of authority, under
“ you, whereby her majesty's service, in this voy-
“ age might be overthrown, or impugned ; we will,
“ therefore, that upon just proof made of any such
“ trea-

"treason, mutiny, or any other discord, attempted as
 "aforesaid, the same shall be punished by you, or
 "your lieutenant, according to the quality, and
 "enormity of the fact: provided always, and it shall
 "not be lawful, neither for you, nor your lieutenant,
 "to proceed to the punishment of any person, by loss
 "of life, and limb, unless the party shall be judged
 "to have deserved it, by the rest of your assistants, as
 "is before expressed, or, at the least, by four of them.
 "And that which shall concern life, to be, by the
 "verdict of twelve men of the company, employed
 "in this voyage, to be impannelled for that purpose,
 "with the observation of the form of our country-
 "laws, in that behalf, as near as you may. Pro-
 "vided that it shall not appear that the forbearing
 "of execution, by death, shall minister cause to in-
 "crease the fact of the offender, then it were better
 "to convince the party of his fact, by the Oaths of
 "twelve indifferent persons, and to commit him to
 "hard imprisonment, until the return. And, as well
 "of the facts committed by any, as, also, of the proof
 "thereof, and of the opinion of you, and your as-
 "sistants, and the manner of the punishment, the
 "registers shall make a particular, and true note, in
 "the book of your consultation, as is before appoint-
 "ed."

VI. "You shall not remove captain William Haw-
 "kins, your lieutenant, captain Luke Ward, your
 "vice-admiral, or captain of the Edward-Bonaven-
 "ture, nor captain Carlisle (c) from his charge by
 "land, (whom we will not to refuse any such ser-
 "vice as shall be appointed to him, by the general,
 "and the council,) nor any captain of other vessels,
 D 3 "from

(c) Captain Carlisle was not, however, on this expedition.

“ from their charges, but upon just cause, duly proved, and by consent of your assistants, or of four of them, at the least.

VII. “ For the succession of the general, governor or of this whole voyage, if it should please God to take him away, it is thought meet that there should be the names of such gentlemen secretly set down to succeed in his Place, One after the Other, which are severally written in Parchment, included in Balls of wax, sealed with her majesty's signet, put into two coffers, locked with the several locks, whereof one key is to be in the custody of captain Luke Ward, the other of William Hawkins, and the third of Mr. Madox, the minister; and the same two coffers to be put into two several ships; viz. the one coffer in the Galleon, in the custody of the general, and the other in the Edward-Bonaventure, in the custody of the vice-admiral. The same two coffers upon any such casualty of the general's death, by the consent of the Assistants which shall over live, to be opened, and the party therein named to succeed in the place, who shall thereupon take upon him the charge in the said voyage, according to these instructions, in such sort as if they had been specially directed unto him; and the Rest of the company so to take, and repute him, in every respect, as they will answer to the contrary. But, if it shall so follow, (as we hope it will,) that there shall be no such need, but that the general do continue still, then shall you, at your return, deliver back the said coffers, and balls of wax, sealed, in such sort as they be, without opening them, unless it be in the case aforesaid.”

VIII. “ You shall make a just, and true inventory, in every ship, and vessel, appointed for this voyage,
“ age,

"age, of all the tackle, munition, and furniture, be-
 "longing to them, at their setting forth, hence, and
 "of all the provisions whatsoever; and one copy there-
 "of, under your hand, and under the hands of your
 "vice-admiral, and lieutenant, to be delivered to
 "the earl of Leicester, and the other to the governor
 "of the company for them, before your departure,
 "hence: and the like to be done at your return home,
 "of all things then remaining in the said ships, and
 "vessels, with a true certificate how, and by what
 "means, any parcel of the same shall have been spent,
 "or lost."

IX. "You shall use all diligence possible to depart
 "from Southampton, with your said ships, and vessels,
 "before the last of this present month of April, and so
 "go on your course, by the Cape of Good Hope, not
 "passing by the streights of Magellan, either going, or
 "returning, except upon great occasion incident, that
 "shall be thought otherwise good to you, by the Ad-
 "vice, and consent of your said assistants, or four
 "of them, at the least."

X. "You shall not pass to the north-eastward of
 "the fortieth degree of latitude, at the most; but
 "shall take your right course to the isles of the Mo-
 "lucco, for the better discovery of the north-west
 "passage, if, without hindrance of your trade, and
 "within the same degree, you can get any know-
 "ledge concerning that passage, whereof you shall do
 "well to be inquisitive, as occasion of this sort may
 "serve."

XI. "You shall have special regard, after your
 "departure from the coast of England, so to order
 "your course, as that your ships, and vessels, lose
 "not one another, but keep company together, both
 "outward, and homeward. And, lest if they happen

“to sever, the one from the other, by tempest, or
 “otherwise, it shall not be amiss that you appoint to
 “the captains, and masters, certain places wherein
 “you will stay certain days. And every ship pass-
 “ing before hand, and not knowing what is become
 “of the other ships, to leave, upon every promon-
 “tory, or cape, a token to stand in sight, with a
 “writing, lapped in lead, to declare the day of
 “their passage. And if any wilfulness, or neglect
 “in this behalf shall appear in any person, or persons,
 “that shall have charge of any of the ships, or ves-
 “sels aforesaid; or, if they, or any of them shall
 “do otherwise than to them appertaineth, you shall
 “punish such offenders sharply, to the example of
 “others.”

XII. “We do streightly enjoin you, and conse-
 “quently, all the rest employed in this voyage, in
 “any wise; and, as you, and they will answer to
 “the contrary, at your coming home, by the laws
 “of this realm, that neither going, tarrying abroad,
 “nor returning, you do spoil, or take any thing
 “from any of the queen’s majesty’s friends, or allies,
 “or any Christians, without paying justly for the same,
 “nor that you cause any manner of violence, or
 “force against any such, except in your own de-
 “fence, if you shall be set upon, or, otherwise, be
 “forced, for your own safeguard, to do it.”

XIII. “We will that you deal altogether, in this
 “voyage, like good, and honest merchants, traffick-
 “ing, and exchanging ware for ware, with all cour-
 “tesy to the nations you shall deal with, as well
 “Ethnics, as others; and, for that cause, you shall
 “instruct all those that shall go with you, that when-
 “soever you, or any of you, shall happen to come
 “into any place, to conference with the people of
 “those

“ those parts, that in all your doings, and theirs,
 “ you, and they so behave yourselves towards the
 “ said people, as may rather procure their friendship,
 “ and good liking towards you, by courtesy, than
 “ to move them to offence, and misliking; and,
 “ especially, you shall have great care of the per-
 “ formance of your word, and promise to them.”

XIV. “ We will that, by the advice of your as-
 “ sistants, in places where you, and they shall think
 “ most fit, you settle, if you can, a beginning of a
 “ farther trade to be had hereafter: And, from such
 “ places, do bring over with you some few men, and
 “ women, if you may; and do, also, leave some one,
 “ or two, or more, as to you, and your assistants,
 “ shall seem convenient, of our nation, with them
 “ for pledge, and to learn the tongue, and secrets of
 “ the country, having diligent care that deliver-
 “ ing, and taking of hostages, you deliver not per-
 “ sonages of more value than you receive, but rather
 “ deliver mean persons, under colour of men of va-
 “ lue, as the Infidels do, for most part, use. Provided
 “ that you stay not longer to make continuance of
 “ farther trade, than shall be expedient for good ex-
 “ change of the wares at present carried with you.”

XV. “ You shall have care, and give general
 “ warning that no person, of what calling soever he
 “ be, shall take up, or keep to himself, or his private
 “ Use, any stone, pearl, gold, silver, or other mat-
 “ ter, or commodity, to be had, or found in places;
 “ where you shall come; but he, the said person, so
 “ seized of such stone, pearl, gold, silver, or other
 “ matter, or commodity, shall, with all speed, or, so
 “ soon as he can, detect the same, and make delivery
 “ thereof to yourself, or your vice-admiral, or lieu-
 “ tenant, and the factor appointed for this voyage,
 “ upon

“ upon pain of forfeiture of all the recompence he is
“ to have for his service in this voyage, by share, or
“ otherwise ; and, farther, to receive such punishment,
“ as to you, and your assistants, or the greater part
“ of them shall seem good, and, otherwise to be pu-
“ nished, here, at his return, if, according to the qua-
“ lity of his offence, it shall be thought needful.”

XVI. “ If the captains, merchants, or any others
“ shall have any apparel, jewels, chains, armour, or
“ any other thing whatsoever, which may be desired
“ in countries where they shall traffic, that it shall
“ not be lawful for them, or any of them to traffic,
“ or sell any thing thereof, for their private account ;
“ but the same shall be prized by the most part of those
“ that shall be in commission in the places where the
“ same may be so required, rated at such value as it
“ may be reasonably worth in England, and then, sold,
“ to the profit of the whole voyage, and to go as in
“ adventure for those to whom it doth appertain.”

XVII. “ You, yourself, shall, in the galleon, keep
“ one book, and the factors appointed for the same
“ ship another book, wherein shall be a just account
“ kept, as well of the merchandize carried hence, as
“ of those you shall bring home. And as well at your
“ setting forth, as from time, to time, as exchange
“ shall be made, you shall set your hand to their
“ book, and they theirs to yours, and the like order
“ shall you see that the captain, and the factors, in
“ the Edward-Bonaventure, shall use in their ship, and
“ the other captains, and factors in each other ves-
“ sel.”

XVIII. “ You shall give streight order to restrain
“ that none shall make any charts, or descriptions of
“ the said voyage, but such as shall be deputed by
“ you, the general, which said charts, and descrip-
“ tions,

"tions, we think meet that you, the general, shall
 "take into your hands, at your return to this our
 "coast of England, leaving them no copy; and to
 "present them unto us, at your return: he like
 "to be done, if they find any charts, or maps, in
 "those countries."

XIX. "You shall, at your return, so direct your
 "course that all ships under your government may
 "come home together, and arrive here in the river
 "Thames, if it conveniently may be. And where-
 "soever in this realm, you, or any of the ships shall
 "arrive, you shall give special, and streight order,
 "that no person of whatsoever condition he be, shall
 "unlade, or bring on land, or out of the vessels in
 "which he came, any part, or parcel of merchan-
 "dize, or matter, or commodity, brought in any of
 "the said vessels, until we, being certified of your,
 "or their arrival, shall give farther order, or direc-
 "tion therein, under the penalties, and forfeitures ex-
 "pressed in the fifteenth article against such as shall
 "retain any thing to their private use, as in the said
 "article is farther expressed."

XX. "To the intent that all such persons as shall
 "go with you, in this voyage, may better understand
 "what they ought to do, and what to avoid, we
 "think it requisite, that, as well out of these, as other-
 "wise, with the advice of your assistants, and masters
 "of the ships, you shall cause some convenient order
 "to be set down in writing, for their better govern-
 "ment, both at sea, and land, if they shall happen
 "to go on land any where; and the same to be openly
 "read, and made known unto them, to the intent that
 "they may understand how to behave themselves,
 "and, upon any fault committed, not to have any ex-
 "cuse to pretend ignorance, and so to avoid such pu-
 "nishment

" nishment as it is requisite to have ministered for the
" keeping of them in good order."

XXI. " And to the end God may bless this voy-
" age with happy, and prosperous success, you shall
" have an especial care to see that reverence, and re-
" spect be had to the ministers appointed to accompany
" you in this voyage, as appertaineth to their place,
" and calling, and to see such good order as by them
" shall be set down for reformation of life, and man-
" ners, duly obeyed, and performed, by causing the
" transgressors, and contemners of the same to be se-
" verely punished, and the ministers to remove some-
" times from one vessel to another."

XXII. " Provided always that the whole direction,
" and government of the people, life, and limb ex-
" cept, as in the fifth article; and the course of
" this voyage, shall be wholly at your disposition, ex-
" cept in the course by the streights of Magellan, ei-
" ther outward, or homeward, and, in your passage by
" the northward of forty degrees in latitude, wherein
" you shall follow directions set down in the ninth,
" and tenth article, as also in the displacing of the
" captain of the Edward-Bonaventure, and other cap-
" tains, wherein you shall follow the order appointed
" in the sixth article. Provided that we mean not,
" by this article, to derogate any thing from the au-
" thority of your assistants established in the third ar-
" ticle, or in any other article in these instructions."

XXIII. " On all occasions, and enterprizes that
" may fall out to be upon the land, we will that
" captain Carlisse shall have the general, and chief
" charge thereof."

XXIV. " And, finally, we require you, and every
" of you, to have a due regard to the observation,
" and accomplishment of these our instructions, and
" of

"of all such other things as may, any kind of way, tend to the furtherance, and benefit of this service committed to your charge."

In the month of May, the general departed, with his Squadron, from England, and, after a passage of nearly eleven weeks, arrived, on the tenth of August at Sierra Leona, in Africa. Having remained, during twelve days, within the harbour, he was visited by several of the Portuguese, and their attendant negroes. The large boat which conveyed them was freighted with the teeth of Elephants, and a great quantity of rice. These, the English took in exchange for the Elizabeth, together with her sails, and tackle; and, when the bargain was concluded, the Portuguese presented the general with a negro-boy. At a subsequent period, twenty-four barrels of salt were given to the natives, in return for forty barrels of rice, a commodity the more acceptable to the crews of the different ships, as the meal, and other provisions carried out from England, were become unfit for Use.

On the third of October, the general proceeded, with the fleet, from Sierra Leona; and, on the first of December, all the ships came to an anchor, in a commodious harbour, near the coast of Brazil. On the day following, several of the English disembarked, and sunk three wells for the purpose of obtaining fresh water. During their abode at this place, their chief subsistence was fish, which is mentioned to have been so plentiful, that six hundred large mullets were taken at a single draft of the net.

On the sixth, and at break of day, a sail was descried, bearing to the southward. The signal was immediately made for the Francis, and the admiral's ship to give chase. Having proceeded nearly six Leagues to the Leeward of the harbour, they came

up

up with, engaged, and took her. She proved to be a Spanish vessel, of the burthen of forty-six tons, and bound to the river of Plate. Amongst the passengers, was Don Francisco de Torre Vedra, nephew to the governor of that river, and its adjoining settlements. The prize, after having been detained two days, and plundered of her cargo, which consisted of sugar, and ginger, was suffered to proceed on her voyage, with a part of the crew. The rest, amounting to twenty-one persons, were made prisoners. Amongst these were two women, and, with each, an infant; seven friars, eight mariners, Francisco de Torre Vedra, and Richard Carter, of Limehouse, who had been absent from England, his native country, during twenty-four years, twelve of which had been passed at the town of Ascension, situated on the borders of the river Plate, and distant from the mouth of it, nearly three hundred leagues. The prisoners informed the general that the Spanish fleet, which was equipped for the purpose of intercepting him, had departed, about the latter end of the preceding month of November, from Rio de Janeiro, and was, probably, cruising near the streights of Magellan.

The several commanders were, now, summoned to a consultation; and they, at first unanimously resolved to pass the streights, and take in fresh water, notwithstanding that the Spaniards might appear in readiness to attack them. Pursuant to this resolution, the whole Squadron got under sail, on the twelfth of December, and proceeded, on the appointed course, until the twentieth, when, at a second conference, it was judged more prudent not to pass the streights, but to sail either to the river of Plate, or to Saint Vincent, in order to procure an immediate supply of necessaries. Richard Carter, who was examined touching the Propriety

priety of proceeding to the river, observed that it was shallow, and dangerous ; that the road was at the distance of seven leagues from any town, or convenient place ; and that, although provisions might be plentiful, yet it would be difficult to obtain wine, unless they waited, during four months, for the arrival of the vessels that were usually laden with it. A circumstance of still greater moment was the probability that on their entrance into the river of Plate, they might be discovered either to the Spanish Squadrons stationed in the streights of Magellan, or to the land forces assembled at Peru. Induced by these considerations, they prepared to sail immediately for Saint Vincent, a place inhabited by the Portuguese, from whom they did not expect to meet the slightest opposition.

On the twenty-second, the English missed the Francis, commanded by captain John Drake, whom we shall have occasion to mention at the conclusion of this memoir. On the seventeenth of January, in the succeeding year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-three, they arrived at a place to which (having perceived a Falcon hovering near the shore,) they gave the name of Falcon Isle. The sole produce of the land was woods, and bushes. On the twenty-fourth, they landed at Citron Island, where they procured quantities of wild-fowl, and excellent fresh water.

On the twenty-third, and at day-break, they arrived at the harbour of Saint Vincent. Here, the general was preparing to disembark, but relinquished his intentions, in the moment that he perceived sixty men partly Indians, and partly Portuguese, advancing in their canoes towards the ships. On a nearer approach, they displayed a flag of truce, in consequence of which the general dispatched a messenger, with a letter to the governor, from whom he requested

quested a permission to trade, and likewise a pilot to bring the ships still nearer to the town. In the afternoon, the whole Squadron anchored within musquet shot of some houses, and an adjoining fortress.

The four succeeding days were lost in unavailing messages between the governor, and the general, who under the strongest professions of amity, concealed a violent distrust. Early in the morning of the twenty-fifth, John Whitehall, an Englishman, who had married, and settled with his family, at Saint Vincent, came privately, with two Indians, on board of the Leicester galleon, and, after having affirmed that the governor had given orders for the immediate departure of the women, assembled the troops, and made every preparation for an attack, advised the English to lose no time, but slip their cables, and instantly stand out to sea. On that day, there was a severe engagement, of which captain Luke Ward, the commander of the Edward-Bonaventure, hath given the following account.

“ About four in the afternoon, we perceived three
“ sail, bearing in towards the point, and which, as
“ soon as they saw us, anchored on the bar, and put
“ themselves in readiness, sending from one ship to
“ another with their boats, and preparing their ord-
“ nance for the attack. We, on our side, were not
“ idle; but before night, getting our men, and
“ other necessaries from the shore, put ourselves in a
“ posture of defence. I went on board of the admiral
“ to know what He designed to do, and was answered
“ that he determined to set his watch in a warlike
“ manner; and thus in the event it proved; for, after
“ his trumpets, and drum had sounded, he shot
“ off a great piece, as the enemy had done before.
“ Shortly afterwards the Spanish vice-admiral dis-
“ charged

"charged a gun at my ship, the Edward-Bonaventure,
 "and I returned the fire. We then set up our main-
 "top, and top-mast, which we had taken down,
 "since we lay here; and, before eleven at night, we
 "were compleatly rigged. In the mean time, the
 "Spaniards let slip their anchors, and cables, and
 "came driving, and towing with their boats upon us,
 "designing to have boarded us. As they approached,
 "our admiral hailed them, and, not receiving an an-
 "swer, fired a shot at them. He was, however,
 "glad to let an anchor slip to avoid them. Then,
 "they came all driving down athwart my Hawser, so
 "that I was forced to slip an anchor, and cable, to
 "shun the galleon. During this time, the ord-
 "nance, and small shot plied hard on all sides, and I
 "was forced to send to the galleon, my skiff, with an
 "hawser to ride by; for she was loose, and, with the
 "flood, drove up within me. The Spanish vice-ad-
 "miral was then on my broad-side, and, much shat-
 "tered; yet I did not leave gauling of him, until I
 "thought that the powder was expended in vain, he
 "being already in a miserably torn condition. To-
 "wards four in the morning, and when the moon was
 "gone down, it rained so violently hard that we could
 "not perceive one another."

Early in the morning of the twenty-fifth, which was
 the following day, the Spanish Vice-Admiral ship
 sunk, at a short distance from the English. Several of
 the mariners, with dismal shrieks, clung, for a consi-
 derable time, to those parts of the shrouds, and tack-
 ling, which were above the water; but at length,
 were overwhelmed by the waves, and perished in the
 ocean. The engagement between the English, and
 the two remaining Spanish vessels, continued all the
 morning, and until one in the afternoon, when the

latter, although their complement had, at first, amounted to six hundred men, sheered off, and sailed towards the river of Plate. The English, who had not suffered considerably in the action, stood off to sea.

The circumstances relating to the second engagement are thus mentioned by the commander of the Edward-Bonaventure.

“ On the twenty-fifth, at break of day, we saw
 “ the Spanish admiral sunk hard by us, so that his
 “ yards, which were hoisted across, and his tops, with
 “ all about them, were out of the water: most of
 “ their men were gotten away in their boats, except-
 “ ing about forty persons, who hung in the shrouds,
 “ and tops, and whom I advised our general to fetch
 “ away. His pinnace was made ready, and manned
 “ for that purpose, but he *countermanded his orders*.
 “ Three of their boats were, likewise, going from their
 “ ships to save them; but *I fired at them, and obliged*
 “ *them to retire, and leave them upon the shrouds*. At
 “ length, our general sent for two of the men; but
 “ one of them, a *Marsilian, being sorely wounded, and*
 “ *not likely to live, was thrown overboard (f)*. The
 “ other, a boatswain, belonging to the vice-admiral,
 “ was a Greek, and born at Zante. Of the rest, some
 “ swam away on rafts; others were drowned; and
 “ some remained still hanging on the shrouds.”

“ By

(f) The passages in Italics are shocking instances of the barbarity of Fenton, and his associate. It is difficult to reconcile the advice given by the latter to release the Spanish mariners from their dangerous situation, on the shrouds, with his firing at the boats which had put off to their assistance. Is he to be vindicated as having complied with the inclination of the general, who countermanded a former, and more merciful order? or, would not his disobedience have been a virtue?

“By this time, it was fair day-light; and I called
 “to our general to weigh, and drive down upon
 “them; but he required me to go first, and anchor
 “on their quarter; and he would follow, and anchor
 “on their bows. I weighed, and went down, and an-
 “chored by them, but not so near as I designed, be-
 “cause the ebb put me off to the northward. There,
 “I rode alone, spending my shot at them, and they
 “at me, for four hours, before our admiral’s anchor
 “would come up. During which time, I received
 “some damage; but, when our admiral came, he had
 “his part, and eased me.”

“At length, our admiral began to warp away, and
 “being come without me, set sail, and began to stand
 “out into the sea. I went on board of him to know
 “his pleasure. He determined to get out of shot, but
 “could not, because the wind scanted on them.
 “The Edward-Bonaventure, before she could get up
 “her anchors, endured a great many more shot, after
 “the galleon was farther off than she; and, some-
 “times the galleon had two, or three. Thus the bat-
 “tle ended, about one in the afternoon. The rest of
 “this day, and part of the night, we spent in re-
 “pairing our damages, fitting, and putting our ord-
 “nance, and furniture, in order, for the next morn-
 “ing, thinking they would have been with us.”

“On the twenty-sixth, in the morning, they were
 “gone so far up the river that we could not see
 “them; so, we manned our boats, and pinnaces, and
 “sent them up the river to weigh the anchors, and
 “cables, which we had let slip, in the preceding
 “night; and this the Spaniards peaceably suffered us
 “to do. An Indian, who came off to us, informed us
 “that the enemy had buried a great number of dead,
 “and landed several wounded men, in the bay. Our

"loss proved inconsiderable. On the part of the admirals, only one, a mariner, was killed."

On the twenty-ninth, the Leicester galleon, and the Edward-Bonaventure were separated. The last, commanded by captain Ward, arrived, after a long, and dangerous voyage, on the thirty-first of May, safely, in England, to which kingdom, captain Fenton, also, returned, but at what period is uncertain. A naval historian (g) remarks that he appears to have preserved his fame, although exposed to the mortification of not having accomplished his purpose. He, afterwards, acquired a more decided reputation by the gallantry of his conduct, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, when, having been advanced to the Mary-Rose, a ship belonging to the queen, he contributed, with other heroes, to the Defeat of the Armada. He passed the latter part of his life, at Deptford, in the parish-church of which a monument was erected to his memory, by the great earl of Corke, who married his niece. It appears from the Epitaph, that he died in the spring of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and three, and had enjoyed the post of Esquire of the body to the queen (h).

We shall conclude this memoir with some particulars relating to the Francis, as delivered to us by a Portuguese historian (i).

" It

(g) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 575.

(h) The particulars of this Memoir are taken from Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 757.—Sir Richard Hawkins's Observations, §. 35. p. 85.—Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth, V. 1. p. 38.—Stowe.—Strype.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 171.—Camden, V. 2. p. 574.—Ubalduino's Discourse of the Spanish fleet invading England, p. 26, 27.—Lediard's naval History, V. 1. Folio, p. 185, 193.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 575.—Bishop Carleton's Remembrancer, p. 154.—Fuller's Worthies.

(i) Lopez Vaz.

"It is impossible to assign a reason why the whole
 "squadron, commanded by Fenton, did not proceed to
 "the Streights of Magellan. The Francis, under the
 "conduct of John Drake, quitted the other ships, and
 "arrived at the river of Plate, at the distance of five
 "leagues from Seal-Island, and close to the spot where
 "the vessels belonging to the earl of Cumberland took
 "in fresh water. Here, the Francis was cast away up-
 "on a ledge of rocks; but eighteen of the crew
 "escaped, in the boat, to the adjoining shore, from
 "whence they travelled, by land, during a whole
 "day, and were, at length, intercepted by the natives,
 "who (although not absolutely Cannibals,) were ac-
 "customed to reduce to slavery all the christians whom
 "they could seize."

"During a short Skirmish, these savages killed five
 "of the English, and, then, compelled the remaining
 "thirteen to surrender. After a severe bondage of
 "fifteen months, Richard Fairweather, the master
 "of the Francis, having discovered that there was a
 "town of Christians, on the other side of the river,
 "was determined to escape. He secured a small ca-
 "noe, furnished with two oars, and at midnight, put
 "off from the shore, in company with John Drake,
 "and a young mariner. As the river was nineteen
 "leagues in breadth, they were three days on their
 "passage, during which they had not the least suf-
 "tenance. On the spot where they landed, they
 "discovered a beaten path, along which (as it was
 "marked by the feet of horses,) they ventured to
 "pursue their course. In a short time, they ar-
 "rived at a house surrounded by corn-fields, and
 "were so fortunate as to meet with more charitable
 "Indians, who, having fed, and cloathed them, hast-
 "ened to inform the captain of the place, of their ar-

"rival. He, immediately, directed four horsemen to
"conduct them to the town, where he waited to re-
"ceive them, and entertained them with unbounded
"hospitality. It was his intention to have sent them
"to Spain; but the vice-roy of Peru gave orders
"that they should repair to him." Concerning the
subsequent fate of Drake, and his associates, the his-
torian is silent.

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T H E
V O Y A G E S
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Captain J O H N D A V I S.

AS the disappointment of Mr. Fenton gave rise to the succeeding expeditions of this adventurer, it may be proper to subjoin a relation of them to the last memoir. In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-five, William Sanderson, a master of globes, and several opulent citizens of London, equipped two barks, which were named the Sun-Shine, and the Moon-Shine. The first, commanded by captain Davis, was of the burthen of fifty tons; and his company, amounting to twenty-two persons, consisted of a merchant, a master, and master's-mate, a gunner, a carpenter, a boatswain, ten mariners, two boys, and four musicians. The second, of the burthen of thirty-five tons, was intrusted to captain William Bruton, under whom were nineteen persons, all common sailors, except the master.

On the seventh of June, and in the same year, captain Davis proceeded, with these barks, from Dartmouth,

mouth, for the purpose of discovering a new passage, by the north-west parts of America, to the East-Indies. Having passed Falmouth, on the twenty-eighth, he steered his course, northward; and, on the nineteenth of July, at the distance of nearly five hundred leagues from the southern cape of Ireland, called Miffenhead, was much obstructed by the ice. On the day following, he arrived within sight of the coast of Greenland, the lofty mountains of which were covered with snow. The extensive icy bulwarks which encompassed the island, rendered it impossible for the vessels to approach nearer than within two leagues of it. This place, on account of the hideous noise occasioned by the continual clashing of the piles of ice, was named by Davis the Land of Desolation.

Having followed the tract of ice, which winded first towards the north, he, on the twenty-ninth of the same month, had the good fortune to pass it, and in sixty-four degrees, and fifteen minutes, latitude, discovered a chain of green, and fertile islands. On one of these, the English disembarked, and were peaceably accosted by the inhabitants, who are described as low of stature, with little eyes, and beardless chins. They were so pleased with their new visitors, that they came, in multitudes, to see them; and, at one time, the ships were surrounded by thirty-seven of their canoes. Five of these were purchased by the English, who, also, obtained from the natives, the skins of seals, vestments curiously wrought with the plumage of different birds, several kinds of leather, and rich furs. When they perceived how much the last were coveted, they expressed, by signs, an intention to bring a larger quantity, on the succeeding day; but, as the wind became fair, at night, Davis, more eager to prosecute his discoveries, than engage in traffic, gave orders to prepare for sailing.

On

On the first of August, he steered his course to the north-west, and having entered a sea without ice, came, on the fifth day, into the latitude of sixty-six degrees, and forty minutes. Here, he landed on a hill the sides of which glittered, as if their surface had been tinged with gold. The place (which he named Mount Raleigh,) seemed destitute of inhabitants, but abounded with white Bears, some of which were killed, and eaten by the English.

On the eighth, they continued their course, the land gradually extending itself westward; and, on the eleventh, They entered a Streight, in most parts, twenty leagues wide, and free from ice. Along this streight, (which still bears his name,) captain Davis sailed forty leagues, and, searching all around, discovered many islands, and several harbours, together with appearances of a farther passage. On the fourteenth, fifteenth, and seventeenth, the English went on shore, but could not discover a single inhabitant, although many marks were visible of the labours of various artificers. These circumstances are mentioned by Davis, as increasing his expectations of making some great discovery. Yet, towards the latter end of August, when the wind became unfavourable for the continuance of his voyage, he changed his course for England, and, on the thirty-first of September, returned to Dartmouth, elated with the hopes of accomplishing the discovery, at a future period.

The following are the reasons advanced by Davis, and his associates, in confirmation of the possibility of discovering a north-west passage.

1. That the place (to which they had sailed,) was all islands, with great sounds between them.
2. That the water remained of the same colour with the main-ocean, without the least alteration: where-

whereas, they never entered into any bay, either before, or afterwards, without perceiving that its colour was altered to a deep black.

3. Because they observed to the westward of those Islands, three, or four Whales, which (they imagined,) came from the western sea. To the eastward, no Whales were seen.

4. Because, as they were rowing into a very great sound, lying south-west, from whence these Whales came, there happened, suddenly, a violent counter-check of a tide, from the southward, against the flood, with which they entered, not knowing from whence it received its source.

5. Because, in sailing twenty leagues within the mouth of this entrance, they had sounding (a soft, grey sand,) at nine fathoms; and the farther they ran to the westward, the deeper was the water; so that among the islands, they discovered near the shore, no ground at three hundred, and thirty fathoms.

6. Because it ebbed, and flowed, six or seven fathoms, the flood coming from divers parts, so that they could not discern the chief source of it.

On the seventh of May, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-six, captain Davis proceeded on his second expedition, with one ship, two Barks, and a small pinnace. Their names were the Mermaid, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons; the Sun-Shine, of the Burthen of fifty tons; the Moon-Shine, of the burthen of thirty-five tons; and the Northern Star, of the burthen of ten tons.

On the fifteenth of June, captain Davis discovered land, in the latitude of sixty degrees, and in forty-seven degrees, west longitude from the meridian of London. At this place, to which the vast drifts of ice ren-

rendered a near approach impossible, he divided his small squadron, and sent the Sun-Shine, and the pin-nace, to discover (unless prevented by the land,) a passage northward, between Iceland, and Greenland.

On the twenty-ninth, he reached the land, in the latitude of sixty-four degrees, and in fifty-eight degrees, and four minutes of longitude, from the meridian of London. Here, he went ashore, and met with an hospitable reception from the natives, who, in return for different European commodities, brought seals, stags, wild-fowl, dried fish, and the skins of white Hares.

During the time that several of the English were employed, on one island, in the construction of a pin-nace, they were repeatedly visited by the natives, whose numbers were so great that they sometimes filled an hundred canoes. They recollected those persons amongst the crew who had been there, in the preceding year, and expressed much satisfaction at this second meeting. Captain Davis, now, divided his boats, and sent them to the different sounds, and bays. The several crews frequently disembarked, and ascended to the summits of the highest mountains, but could make no discoveries agreeable to their wishes. Having remained in this quarter, during some days, and carried on a traffic with the natives, whom he found much addicted to stealing, the English weighed anchor, and ran into the latitude of sixty-six degrees, and twenty minutes.

It hath been asserted by some historians that, having entered, at this period, into the same streight along which he had sailed in the preceding year, captain Davis continued his course, for eighty leagues, and obtained a farther knowledge of the seas, in those parts. He found them surrounded by scattered islands, and plen-

plentifully supplied with fish. He, next, coasted southward, and to fifty-six degrees, where he remained in a commodious harbour, until the month of September, and, sailing thence, on the third, discovered, in fifty-four degrees, an open sea, tending westward, which induced him to hope that he was on the point of discovering the passage for which he so long had searched. He supposed the south land to be only islands, and was chiefly intent on proceeding towards the ocean; but as the wind became directly contrary, he was obliged to anchor in four fathoms, and employed the crew, in catching fish, of which the quantities were immense.

On the sixth, having a fair north-north-west wind, he made ready for his departure, and sent a boat, with five men, to bring the fish which had been left upon the shore. At their landing, they were suddenly attacked by the inhabitants, who killed two, dangerously wounded two more, and obliged the fifth (into whose arm, they had shot an arrow,) to save himself by swimming. At this period, a violent tempest arose, in consequence of which, captain Davis was forced to remain at anchor, until the eleventh. The wind being then fair, and at west-north-west, the English set sail, directing their course homewards, and, at the commencement of October, the Moon-Shine arrived at Dartmouth. Of the Mermaid, no account is given, from the time that she was left at anchor (A), by captain Davis. It is needless to relate the circumstances of the voyage undertaken by the Sun-Shine; as they do not contain the least variety of information. with regard to the pinnace, it is necessary to observe that on the third of September, during a violent tempest, she was separated from the Sun-Shine, and seen no more. The latter reached Dartmouth on the fourth of

(A) August 12, 1586.

of the following month, laden only with a small quantity of seal skins.

In the letter, written by captain Davis, to Mr. William Sanderson, is the following passage : " I have now
" gained much experience of the north-west part of the
" world ; and have brought the passage to that likeli-
" hood, that I am assured it must be in one of the four
" places, or else not at all. I aver, upon the for-
" feiture of my life, that the voyage may be performed,
" not only without farther charge, but with certain pro-
" fit to the adventurers."

On the nineteenth of May, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eight-seven, captain Davis proceeded on his third expedition, with three small Ships, the Elizabeth, of Dartmouth, the Sun-Shine, and the Helen of London. Two of these vessels were equipped for fishing : the third was particularly fitted out for a voyage of discovery, in the north-western parts of America.

On the eighteenth of June, captain Davis cast anchor near the northern coast of that Region ; and, on the twentieth, arrived in the open sea, in the latitude of sixty-seven degrees, and forty minutes. From thence, steering westward, he ran forty leagues, but, being obstructed by the mountainous drifts of ice, and impelled likewise, from his intended northerly course, by a violent north wind, He was reduced to the necessity of returning to the main ocean.

On the twentieth of July, he came in Sight of the streight, which he had discovered, two years before, and, after a course of sixty leagues, was interrupted by the ice, and obliged hastily to return. Having coasted along to the southward, as far as the latitude of fifty-two degrees, he proceeded towards England, and arrived at Dartmouth, on the fifteenth of September,
in

in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-seven.

The following passage, taken from his second letter to Mr. Sanderson, is a proof that it was not in the power of disappointments to destroy his confidence.

"By the mercy of GOD, I am returned in health, with all my company, and have sailed threescore leagues farther than I designed at my departure. I have been in seventy-three Degrees, and found the sea all open, with forty leagues between land, and land. The passage is most probable, the execution easy, as, at our meeting, you shall more fully know."

Of the success of the two barks, which were constructed for the purpose of fishing, We have no account. It was directed that they should take their station, between fifty-four, and fifty-five degrees of latitude, and raise beacons on every head-land, at which they might arrive. None of these marks were ever seen by captain Davis, notwithstanding that he looked out for them, on his return (*l*).

It may be proper to acquaint the reader that a naval historian (*m*) conversed with captain Davis, and Sir Martin Frobisher, touching the discovery of a passage to the north-west, and that (if his report be true,) They were not able to give him any more assurance, than persons who had never gone so far. He confesses that they did offer him (which was all that he could expect,) several plausible reasons to prove the truth of their position. In a discourse on this subject, the same author endeavours to represent the undertaking
as,

(*l*) The particulars of these expeditions are taken from Camden, Harris, Hackluyt, Purchas, and Lediard.

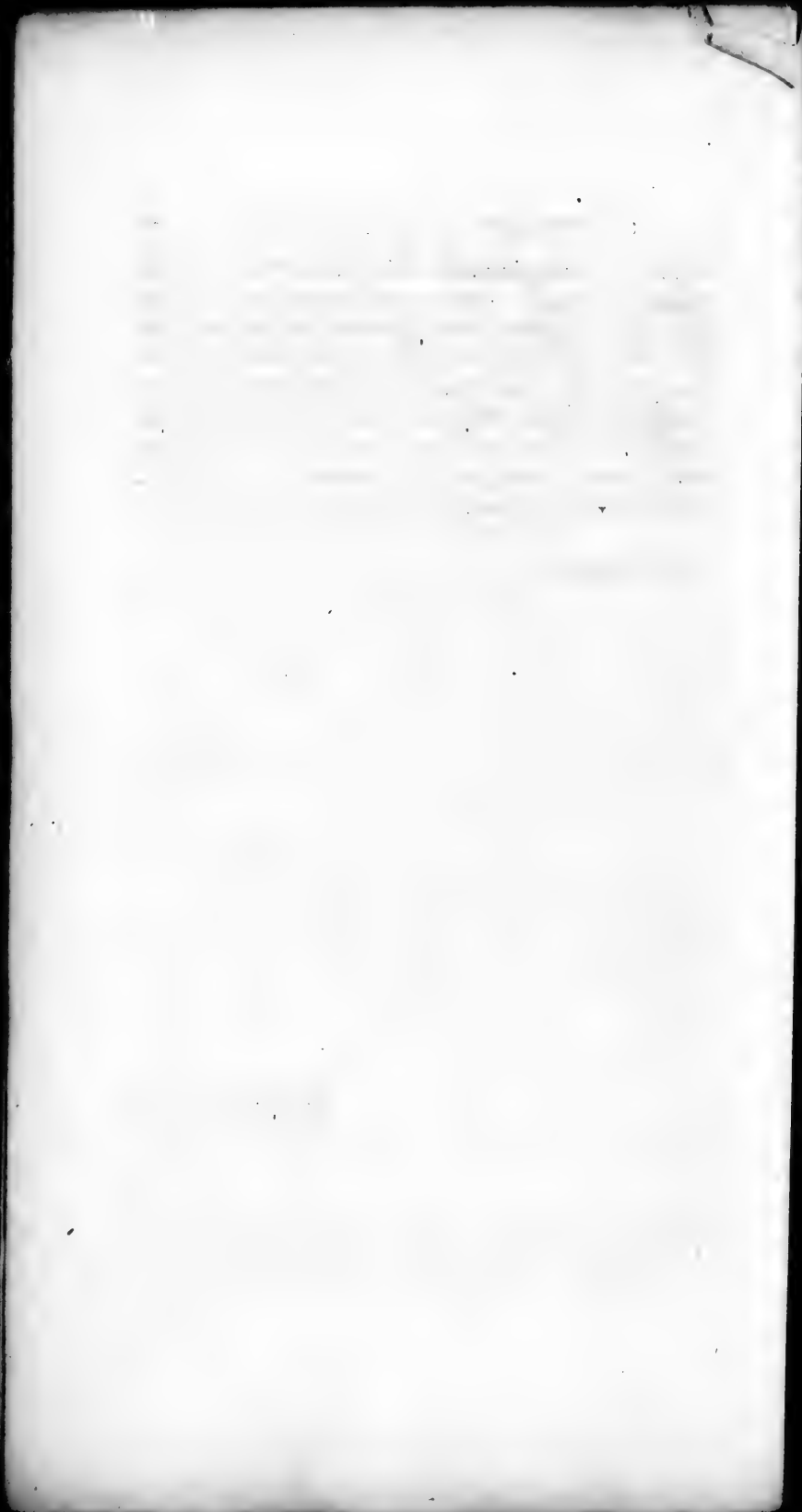
(*m*) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 426.

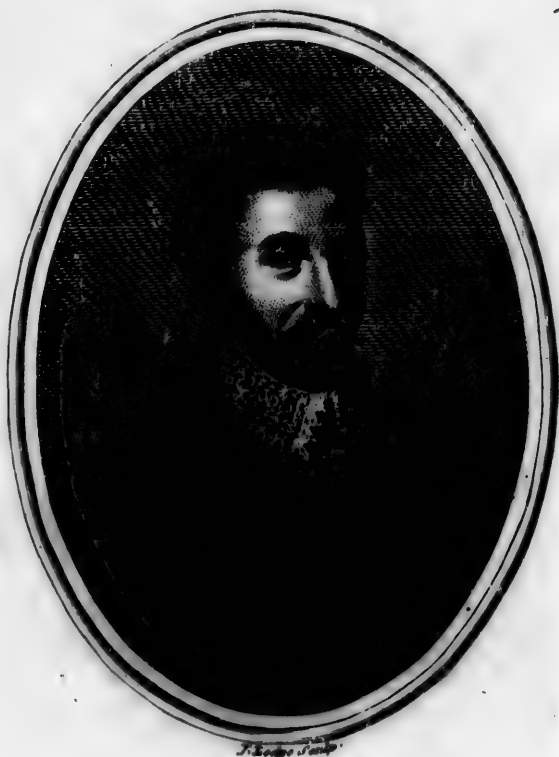
CAPTAIN JOHN DAVIS. 79

as, in its nature, impracticable ; but, admitting that it were not so, he delivers it as his opinion, that not one of the boasted advantages could be reaped from this discovery. He concludes his remarks with an insinuation, that a more profitable, and, at the same time, a more probable attempt might be made by sailing due north, directly under the pole, which (in his imagination,) would render the passage between England, and China, not more than fifteen hundred leagues (n).

(n) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 1. p. 576.

MEMOIRS





J. Lodge Sculp.

S.^t FRANCIS DRAKE.

in
p.

M E M O I R S

O F

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE.

THIS illustrious adventurer, incapable from the obscurity of his birth, of deriving his descent from a long line of titled ancestry, was ennobled by himself. His naval, and military achievements, supply the place of hereditary dignities, and reflect more real honour on his name than all the patents of creation which the sovereign could have granted. We are informed, by a contemporary Writer (*a*), that he was the son of a person in narrow circumstances, who, having, soon after the accession of Henry the eighth, embraced the protestant religion, was obliged to quit his native country of Devonshire, and retired secretly into Kent, where he read prayers on board the fleet, was next ordained deacon, and, at length, appointed vicar of the church of Upnore, on the river Medway. It is added that Drake (to whom Sir Francis Russel, afterwards earl of Bedford, stood

VOL. III. F God-

(*a*) Camden, p. 351.—See another inconsistent account in the same author.—Britannia, p. 145.—English Hero, p. 1.—Fuller's holy state, p. 123.

godfather,) was bound apprentice to the master of a coasting vessel, who, pleased with his fidelity, and attention to sea-affairs, made a will, in which he bequeathed to him a bark that laid the primary foundation of his fortunes.

A naval historian (*b*) is of Opinion that, although most of the circumstances in this relation may appear true, if arranged in their proper order; yet, as introduced by Camden, they must seem otherwise. First, the account makes our hero ten years older than he was; next, if his father fled from those perils to which his religious principles had exposed him, and this event happened some time after the birth of Drake, Sir Francis Russel must have been an infant, and therefore, probably, was not his godfather (*c*). A more circumstantial, and well-founded relation (*d*) styles his father, Edmond Drake, an honest seaman, of Tavistock, in Devonshire, where Francis (the eldest of twelve sons,) was born in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and forty-five, and afterwards received an education, at the expence, and under the care of his kinsman, the gallant Sir John Hawkins.

When Drake had reach his nineteenth year, he was appointed purser of a trading vessel bound to Biscay. At the age of twenty, he made a voyage to Guinea; and, in two years afterwards, attended (as
cap-

(*b*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 549.

(*c*) It appears by the monumental inscription to the memory of the earl of Bedford that he was born in the year, one thousand five hundred, and twenty-seven, and, therefore, (if the account given by Camden is to be relied on,) was but ten years old, when Drake was christened. But, allowing Drake to have been born in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and forty-five, the earl of Bedford might well have been his Godfather.—Campbell.

(*d*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

captain of the *Judith*.) Sir John Hawkins, to the port of Saint Juan de Ulloa, in the gulph of Mexico, where, his intrepidity attracted the attention not only of his patron, but of the whole fleet, and was considered as the presage of his future fame (e).

From this enterprize, he returned impoverished in his circumstances : and to repair his losses, determined to embrace the earliest opportunity of cruising against the Spaniards. He proceeded on his first expedition, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy, touching (with two ships, the *Dragon*, and the *Swan*.) at several harbours in the West-Indies. Having obtained some slight intelligence, he returned to England ; and, in the succeeding year, (with the *Swan* alone,) repeated his voyage, the success of which, although not considerable, induced him to prepare for an expedition that seemed calculated to extend his reputation, and augment his fortune (f).

On the twenty-fourth of March, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-two, Francis, and his brother, John Drake, sailed from Plymouth, with two ships, the *Pascha*, of the burthen of seventy tons, and the *Swan*, of the burthen of twenty-five tons. These were furnished with a sufficient quantity of naval stores, and such a stock of provisions as could not be consumed within the year. Three pinnaces, so constructed, that their several parts could either be taken in pieces, or joined, at pleasure, were put on board the vessels. The whole number of adventurers amounted to seventy-three, including boys ; and of these, only the principal persons were acquainted with the nature of the enterprize.

F 2

After

(e) Prince's *Worthies of Devonshire*, p. 239.

(f) *Sir Francis Drake revived* ; written by Philip Nichols, 4to.

After a quick, and prosperous passage, they arrived, on the twenty-eighth of June, within sight of Guadalupe, and, next, sailing between the island, and Dominica, towards the continent, approached a bay, to which, at his former landing, Drake had given the name of Port Pleasant. At this place, which they reached on the twelfth of July, They moored their ships, whilst the carpenters were employed to frame the pinnaces. On the day following, they were joined by an English bark, belonging to some adventurers, residing at the isle of Wight, and commanded by captain James Rawse, who brought with him two prizes, being a Spanish caravel, and a small sloop, which he had taken, not long before. Several of the crew, belonging to the bark, had served, during a former expedition, under Drake, and, intimated to their commander, a wish that they might again attend him; an association was proposed by Rawse, and, under particular conditions, immediately agreed to. Thus united, the whole squadron, including the pinnaces which were put together, got under sail; and, on the twentieth of July, the third day from their departure, arrived at the island of Pinas. In the harbour, were two frigates, which had been sent from Nombre de Dios, to receive a lading of plank, and timber. The crews consisted of negroes, from whom Drake obtained some information of the force within that city, and then set them on shore, that they might either escape from bondage, or return to Nombre de Dios, by land, a long, and tiresome journey, which it was impossible to perform with that expedition necessary for men who might have determined to acquaint the Spaniards of the intention of the English (g).

Leaving

(g) Sir Francis Drake revived.

Leaving the three ships, and the caravel, under the command of Rawse, our gallant adventurer, attended by seventy-three of his associates, sailed with the sloop, and the three pinnaces, from the isle of Pinas. On the twenty eighth, he arrived at Cattivas, and, immediately disembarking, drew up his men, amongst whom he properly divided the instruments of war, consisting of six targets, six fire-pikes, twelve pikes, twenty-four muskets, and calivers, sixteen bows, and six partizans, together with two drums, and two trumpets.

In the evening, the English proceeded towards Nombre de Dios, and, by night, reached Rio de Francisco. Keeping near the shore, in order to elude the vigilance of the centinels at the watch-house; they advanced, in deep silence, until they recovered the point of the harbour, under the high-land. Here, a part of the crew became anxious for their own safety, and, in the language of apprehension, took notice of the extent, and strength of the place which they were preparing to attack. It was now necessary that not a moment should be left for that deliberation by which the first emotions of cowardice are so frequently increased, and Drake pursued his course with such celerity, that he reached the town, a full hour before day-light. At this juncture, a Spanish vessel, of the burthen of sixty tons, and freighted with Canary wine, having entered the bay, and not yet furled her sprit-sail, dispatched a Gondola, to inform the Spaniards that four pinnaces, apparently belonging to an enemy, were approaching; but the English, by standing in between this barge, and the shore, obliged her to pass over to the opposite side. They now disembarked, and proceeded, without the least opposition, to an adjoining platform, at a small distance from the houses. Here, they found, and immediately dis-

mounted from their carriages, six large brass cannons, several demi-culverins, and some whole culverins. A gunner, who stood on the platform, previous to their landing, escaped, and gave the alarm of danger to the inhabitants (A).

Having left twelve men to guard the pinnacet, Drake directed his brother, together with John Oxenham, to enter the town, (at the head of sixteen men,) by the back front of the royal treasury, and near to the east end of the market-place; proposing to conduct, at the same time, the rest of his associates, with the sound of drums, and trumpets, up the broad street which led to it.

The fire-pikes which at once served to terrify the Spaniards, and give light to their assailants, were equally divided into two companies. The inhabitants were seized with consternation, and hearing the noise of warlike instruments, in different places, supposed themselves on the point of being overpowered by numbers. The Spanish soldiers, supported by several of the citizens, appeared in arms, and drew up at the south-east end of the market place, adjoining to the palace of the governor.

The English advanced steadily, and, having received the fire of their Opponents, returned it by a general discharge of small arms, and of arrows. Each party, now, came to close quarters, when Drake, and his intrepid followers, by unremitted attacks with pikes, swords, and the ends of muskets, obliged the Spaniards to give ground. At this instant, the other company marched forwards to the engagement, and the enemy threw down their arms, and fled, with precipitation, from the town. Two were seized, during their endeavours to escape, and obliged to conduct their subduers to the residence

(A) Sir Francis Drake revived.

sidence of the governor, in whose custody was the treasure which had been brought from Panama. In a lower apartment of the house, the English perceived a pile of silver bars, each of which appeared to be thirty pounds, in weight, and, with the rest, extended nearly seventy feet in length, ten in breadth, and twelve in height. Drake strictly commanded his men to leave the bars untouched, and stand resolutely to their arms, not only because the people were returning, in multitudes, to the town; but, because it would be more advantageous to refrain from plunder, until the success of the intended attempt to force the royal treasury, where was deposited a quantity of gold, and jewels, which all their pinnaces were not sufficiently capacious to contain.

Scarcely were the English returned to their arms, than news arrived that their vessels were in danger of being seized, and that if they should neglect to repair on board, before the morning was advanced, they, probably, would be overpowered by the increasing numbers of armed citizens, and soldiers. The brother of Drake, and John Ozenbam, were immediately dispatched to make inquiries concerning the occasion of this report, and found that it arose chiefly from the timidity of the men appointed to guard the pinnaces, who had judged their destruction to be inevitable, from the moment that they perceived a large party of the Spaniards, running hastily from place, to place, with lighted matches, and warlike weapons in their hands.

At this juncture, the English, within the town, were exposed to the violence of a tempest, by which their bow-strings, matches, and powder, were rendered wet, and totally unfit for service. Alarmed at their apparent danger, they murmured at the temerity of

Drake, who reproaching them with cowardice, declared that if they desisted from their enterprize, after having been conducted to the very door of the place where an immense treasure was deposited, they must expect to meet with equal infamy, and censure. Without waiting for a reply, he commanded his brother, together with John Oxenham, and his party, instantly to force the house, and expressed his determination to secure the market-place, whilst they were busied in the execution of this important enterprize. In the moment that he had spoken, the blood trickled, in quantities, from his leg, and he fell, fainting, to the ground; a circumstance which equally affected, and surprized his comrades, from whom, in order to prevent a baleful despondency, at the appearance of a wounded leader, he had concealed the injury which he received, at the commencement of the action, from a Spaniard, who discharged his piece at him, in too unerring a direction.

Having recovered from the fit, he was earnestly intreated by his associates to repair on board, and procure the necessary assistance, in his disabled situation; but, sensible that, during his absence, the enterprize would be relinquished, he tied his scarf about the wound, and declared his resolution to proceed immediately to the attack. After so positive a refusal to comply with the intercessions of his friends, he was carried, by force, into the pinnace, and rowed, with all expedition, from the shore. Thus ended the attempt to seize an immense treasure, consisting of three hundred, and sixty tons of silver, and a far greater quantity of gold. In the action, several of the men were wounded, and a trumpeter was slain (i).

On

(i) Sir Francis Drake revived.

On the twentieth of July, after having taken the Spanish vessel freighted with Canary wine, they departed, with her, from the harbour, and, soon afterwards, arrived at the neighbouring island of Bastimientes, from whence they returned, on the twenty-second, to their ships, at Pinas.

On the twelfth of August, captain Rawse took a final leave, and sailed for *England*, with the bark, the Spanish caravel, and the sloop without oars. At the same time, the brother of Drake, and Ellis Hixon, who, had been sent to make discoveries to the westward, and near the river Chagro, returned with favourable accounts. Drake, therefore, immediately steered his course, with his two ships, and the three pinnaces, for Carthagena. Here, he arrived on the thirteenth, and, after a short engagement, took two Spanish vessels, of which, one was of the burthen of two hundred, and forty tons. On the succeeding day, he made prizes of two frigates, and, having stripped all these of such articles as were useful, permitted them to depart. He, next, set fire to the *Swan*, one of his own ships, and turned the crew over to the pinnaces, which were not, until that period, sufficiently manned. On the sixteenth, he sailed towards the sound of Darien, and, after a passage of five days, arrived at an unfrequented harbour, where he remained, during a fortnight, without being discovered by the enemy (*k*).

Not to extend this memoir beyond its proper limits, let it be sufficient to remark that from the end of August, until the month of April, in the succeeding year, Drake, and his associates, enriched themselves by the capture of several Spanish ships, at sea, and the acquisition of valuable booties, on the shore. Soon after this period had been elapsed, our adventurer engaged

(*k*) Sir Francis Drake revived.



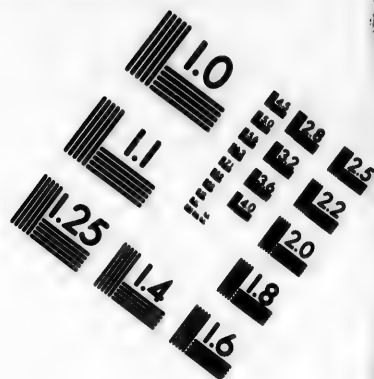
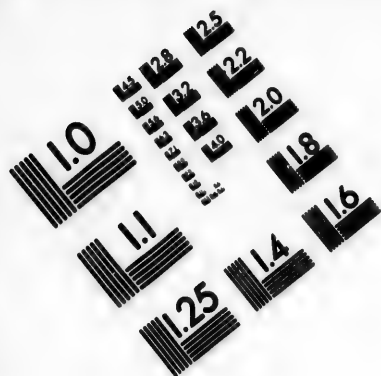
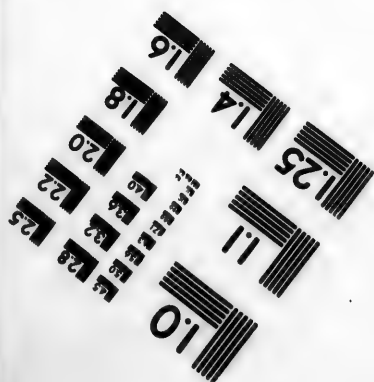
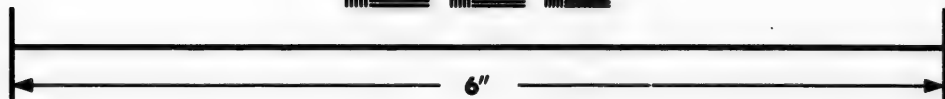
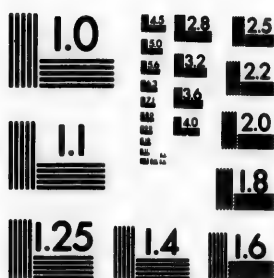


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



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A close-up of a digital scale's display. The screen shows several weight measurements in grams (g) and ounces (oz). The visible numbers include 1.8, 2.0, 2.2, 2.5, 3.2, 3.4, 3.6, 3.8, 4.0, 4.2, 4.4, 4.6, 4.8, 5.0, 5.2, 5.4, 5.6, 5.8, 6.0, 6.2, 6.4, 6.6, 6.8, 7.0, 7.2, 7.4, 7.6, 7.8, 8.0, 8.2, 8.4, 8.6, 8.8, 9.0, 9.2, 9.4, 9.6, 9.8, 10.0, 10.2, 10.4, 10.6, 10.8, 11.0, 11.2, 11.4, 11.6, 11.8, 12.0, 12.2, 12.4, 12.6, 12.8, 13.0, 13.2, 13.4, 13.6, 13.8, 14.0, 14.2, 14.4, 14.6, 14.8, 15.0, 15.2, 15.4, 15.6, 15.8, 16.0, 16.2, 16.4, 16.6, 16.8, 17.0, 17.2, 17.4, 17.6, 17.8, 18.0, 18.2, 18.4, 18.6, 18.8, 19.0, 19.2, 19.4, 19.6, 19.8, 20.0, 20.2, 20.4, 20.6, 20.8, 21.0, 21.2, 21.4, 21.6, 21.8, 22.0, 22.2, 22.4, 22.6, 22.8, 23.0, 23.2, 23.4, 23.6, 23.8, 24.0, 24.2, 24.4, 24.6, 24.8, 25.0, 25.2, 25.4, 25.6, 25.8, 26.0, 26.2, 26.4, 26.6, 26.8, 27.0, 27.2, 27.4, 27.6, 27.8, 28.0, 28.2, 28.4, 28.6, 28.8, 29.0, 29.2, 29.4, 29.6, 29.8, 30.0, 30.2, 30.4, 30.6, 30.8, 31.0, 31.2, 31.4, 31.6, 31.8, 32.0, 32.2, 32.4, 32.6, 32.8, 33.0, 33.2, 33.4, 33.6, 33.8, 34.0, 34.2, 34.4, 34.6, 34.8, 35.0, 35.2, 35.4, 35.6, 35.8, 36.0, 36.2, 36.4, 36.6, 36.8, 37.0, 37.2, 37.4, 37.6, 37.8, 38.0, 38.2, 38.4, 38.6, 38.8, 39.0, 39.2, 39.4, 39.6, 39.8, 40.0, 40.2, 40.4, 40.6, 40.8, 41.0, 41.2, 41.4, 41.6, 41.8, 42.0, 42.2, 42.4, 42.6, 42.8, 43.0, 43.2, 43.4, 43.6, 43.8, 44.0, 44.2, 44.4, 44.6, 44.8, 45.0, 45.2, 45.4, 45.6, 45.8, 46.0, 46.2, 46.4, 46.6, 46.8, 47.0, 47.2, 47.4, 47.6, 47.8, 48.0, 48.2, 48.4, 48.6, 48.8, 49.0, 49.2, 49.4, 49.6, 49.8, 50.0, 50.2, 50.4, 50.6, 50.8, 51.0, 51.2, 51.4, 51.6, 51.8, 52.0, 52.2, 52.4, 52.6, 52.8, 53.0, 53.2, 53.4, 53.6, 53.8, 54.0, 54.2, 54.4, 54.6, 54.8, 55.0, 55.2, 55.4, 55.6, 55.8, 56.0, 56.2, 56.4, 56.6, 56.8, 57.0, 57.2, 57.4, 57.6, 57.8, 58.0, 58.2, 58.4, 58.6, 58.8, 59.0, 59.2, 59.4, 59.6, 59.8, 60.0, 60.2, 60.4, 60.6, 60.8, 61.0, 61.2, 61.4, 61.6, 61.8, 62.0, 62.2, 62.4, 62.6, 62.8, 63.0, 63.2, 63.4, 63.6, 63.8, 64.0, 64.2, 64.4, 64.6, 64.8, 65.0, 65.2, 65.4, 65.6, 65.8, 66.0, 66.2, 66.4, 66.6, 66.8, 67.0, 67.2, 67.4, 67.6, 67.8, 68.0, 68.2, 68.4, 68.6, 68.8, 69.0, 69.2, 69.4, 69.6, 69.8, 70.0, 70.2, 70.4, 70.6, 70.8, 71.0, 71.2, 71.4, 71.6, 71.8, 72.0, 72.2, 72.4, 72.6, 72.8, 73.0, 73.2, 73.4, 73.6, 73.8, 74.0, 74.2, 74.4, 74.6, 74.8, 75.0, 75.2, 75.4, 75.6, 75.8, 76.0, 76.2, 76.4, 76.6, 76.8, 77.0, 77.2, 77.4, 77.6, 77.8, 78.0, 78.2, 78.4, 78.6, 78.8, 79.0, 79.2, 79.4, 79.6, 79.8, 80.0, 80.2, 80.4, 80.6, 80.8, 81.0, 81.2, 81.4, 81.6, 81.8, 82.0, 82.2, 82.4, 82.6, 82.8, 83.0, 83.2, 83.4, 83.6, 83.8, 84.0, 84.2, 84.4, 84.6, 84.8, 85.0, 85.2, 85.4, 85.6, 85.8, 86.0, 86.2, 86.4, 86.6, 86.8, 87.0, 87.2, 87.4, 87.6, 87.8, 88.0, 88.2, 88.4, 88.6, 88.8, 89.0, 89.2, 89.4, 89.6, 89.8, 90.0, 90.2, 90.4, 90.6, 90.8, 91.0, 91.2, 91.4, 91.6, 91.8, 92.0, 92.2, 92.4, 92.6, 92.8, 93.0, 93.2, 93.4, 93.6, 93.8, 94.0, 94.2, 94.4, 94.6, 94.8, 95.0, 95.2, 95.4, 95.6, 95.8, 96.0, 96.2, 96.4, 96.6, 96.8, 97.0, 97.2, 97.4, 97.6, 97.8, 98.0, 98.2, 98.4, 98.6, 98.8, 99.0, 99.2, 99.4, 99.6, 99.8, 100.0, 100.2, 100.4, 100.6, 100.8, 101.0, 101.2, 101.4, 101.6, 101.8, 102.0, 102.2, 102.4, 102.6, 102.8, 103.0, 103.2, 103.4, 103.6, 103.8, 104.0, 104.2, 104.4, 104.6, 104.8, 105.0, 105.2, 105.4, 105.6, 105.8, 106.0, 106.2, 106.4, 106.6, 106.8, 107.0, 107.2, 107.4, 107.6, 107.8, 108.0, 108.2, 108.4, 108.6, 108.8, 109.0, 109.2, 109.4, 109.6, 109.8, 110.0, 110.2, 110.4, 110.6, 110.8, 111.0, 111.2, 111.4, 111.6, 111.8, 112.0, 112.2, 112.4, 112.6, 112.8, 113.0, 113.2, 113.4, 113.6, 113.8, 114.0, 114.2, 114.4, 114.6, 114.8, 115.0, 115.2, 115.4, 115.6, 115.8, 116.0, 116.2, 116.4, 116.6, 116.8, 117.0, 117.2, 117.4, 117.6, 117.8, 118.0, 118.2, 118.4, 118.6, 118.8, 119.0, 119.2, 119.4, 119.6, 119.8, 120.0, 120.2, 120.4, 120.6, 120.8, 121.0, 121.2, 121.4, 121.6, 121.8, 122.0, 122.2, 122.4, 122.6, 122.8, 123.0, 123.2, 123.4, 123.6, 123.8, 124.0, 124.2, 124.4, 124.6, 124.8, 125.0, 125.2, 125.4, 125.6, 125.8, 126.0, 126.2, 126.4, 126.6, 126.8, 127.0, 127.2, 127.4, 127.6, 127.8, 128.0, 128.2, 128.4, 128.6, 128.8, 129.0, 129.2, 129.4, 129.6, 129.8, 130.0, 130.2, 130.4, 130.6, 130.8, 131.0, 131.2, 131.4, 131.6, 131.8, 132.0, 132.2, 132.4, 132.6, 132

gaged in a friendly intercourse with the Symérons, a tribe of Indians, who had deserted from their masters, at Nombre de Dios, and Panama. To Pedro, the captain of these people, Drake had presented a rich cut-lass, and, in return, received four large wedges of gold, all of which he added to the common stock, observing that he thought it "just that those who bore the charge of so uncertain a voyage, on his credit, should share the utmost advantages which it produced (1)." Pedro, the inveterate enemy of the Spaniards, not only informed Drake that the Muleteers were travelling from Panama, with the treasure, but directed some Negroes to conduct him to the road on which it would be most prudent to intercept them. Assisted by an hundred of his associates, Drake attacked them unexpectedly, and, putting the guards to flight, seized two Rocoes, or strings of mules, laden with thirty tons of silver, besides gold. Of the last, the English carried the greater part, on board their vessels. What remained, they buried, at a considerable depth, in the sand of a shallow river. Of the silver, only fifty tons were concealed within a pit, which they had digged for the purpose of receiving it. Unable to carry the rest over the high mountains, they left it scattered about the road.

Their next enterprize was near the river Chagro, and, at a place, called Venta de Cruz, of the House of Crosses. Here, they discovered vast quantities of merchandize, too unwieldly to be conveyed away; and, in the wanton spirit of barbarity, slew seven of the merchants, destroyed goods to the value of two hundred thousand ducats, and, then, reduced the place to ashes.

(1) Sir Francis Drake revived.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 552.

affairs. They had scarcely reached their ships, when an hundred Spaniards appeared in arms, advancing to the shore (m).

Justly hath it been remarked (n), that this expedition may be considered as one of those facts which prove that things really happen which are altogether improbable; and which, but for the weight of evidence that attends them, would not only be deemed fictions, but absurdities. The gallant Drake attended by an inconsiderable number of associates, marched twice, through unknown ways, into the heart of a country belonging to enemies who, urged by implacable revenge, had sought for him, at land, and on the ocean. Of the spirit, and perseverance with which he conducted his enterprizes, it is not possible to give the reader a more striking idea than in the following narration.

On his return, with his companions, to Rio Francisco, he was astonished to perceive a number of Spanish sloops, at anchor, near the shore, instead of the English pinnaces which had been ordered to wait, in readiness to receive him. On this occasion, it was natural to imagine that they had been seized by the enemy, and that the crews, to avoid the torture, had discovered the place, at which the English ships were stationed. Sensible that the only method of securing the treasure, and facilitating his return to his native country, was to repair instantly to his vessels, before the Spaniards could have time to take them, he gave orders that some trees should be so effectually lashed together as to form a kind of raft. Of this, a biscuit-bag became the sail, whilst a plank was shaped into

(m) Sir Francis Drake revived.

(n) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. Note 1. p. 551.

into an oar, as the best substitute for a rudder. Eager to proceed, Drake placed himself on this dangerous machine, and, in a tone of chearful fortitude, exclaimed, "Are none so brave that they will follow me?" At this instant, John Smith, two Frenchmen, and a Negro, declared their resolution to attend him. With these, he put off to sea, and sat, during six hours, up to the waist in water, and, in continual peril of being dashed overboard by the waves which at every surge, rose higher than his breast. At length, he desiered, but at a considerable distance, two pinnaces sailing before the wind, and advancing towards the raft. Drake, and his associates, had scarcely expressed their joy at the supposed appearance of their friends (by whom, however, they were not seen, as they lay low on the water,) when the pinnaces took shelter from the approaching night, and the increased violence of the wind, behind an adjacent promontory. Mortified, but not intimidated by this event, Drake instantly ran the raft ashore, and, proceeding, by land, to the pinnaces, had the good fortune to discover that they were his own. Notwithstanding the violence of the tempest, he obliged his company to row that night to Rio Francisco, from whence (having received the remainder of his men on board, together with their plunder,) he set sail at break of day. When he had regained his ships, he divided his treasure, by weight, into equal portions, and presented one portion to the crew of a French ship, whose fidelity, and fortitude, had been singularly conspicuous in the preceding expedition. In about twelve days afterwards, Drake repaired, with a single pinnace, to Rio Francisco, where John Oxenham, Thomas Sherwill, ten Mariners, and sixteen Negroes disembarked in search of the gold, and silver, which had been buried in the

ground. On their arrival, they perceived that a part of the treasure had been discovered, and retaken by the Spaniards. The remainder, consisting only of some coits of gold, and thirteen bars of silver, they brought in safety to their ship.

It may, in this place, be proper to remark that when Drake, attended by the Symerons, was travelling the country, he ascended to the summit of a lofty mountain, from whence he discerned the southern ocean, lying east, and west, between the two seas. Fired at the sight, he immediately conceived the project of gratifying, at a future æra, his love of fame, and hope of affluence; nor did he quit the spot until he had bound himself by a solemn vow, to attempt that enterprize, in which he afterwards succeeded.

The greatest, and almost sole misfortune which befel Drake, in the course of this extraordinary voyage, was the loss of his two brothers, soon after his departure from Rio Francisco, to England, where he arrived, on the ninth of August, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-three, after having sailed from Cape Florida, to the Isles of Scilly, in the space of twenty-four days (o).

We next find this illustrious adventurer taking the command of three frigates equipped at his own expence. With these, he sailed to Ireland, where, serving as a volunteer, under Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, he confirmed, by his intrepidity, and good Conduct, the public opinion of his exalted merit (p). At the decease of his benefactor, he returned to England, and was introduced to Elizabeth, by Sir Christopher Hatton,

(o) Campden, p. 351.—Sir Francis Drake revived—Le-diard's Naval History, Folio, V. 1. p. 154. 159.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 548. 553.

(p) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

ton, at that period, vice-chamberlain, and privy-counsellor (g). Having obtained from his Sovereign a gracious approbation of his intended attempt to circumnavigate the globe, he immediately gave orders for the equipment of five vessels. These were the Pelican, Admiral, commanded by himself, and of the burthen of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth (Captain John Winter), of the burthen of eighty tons; the Marigold, a bark, of the burthen of thirty tons, and commanded by John Thomas; the Swan fly-boat, (Captain John Chester), of the burthen of fifty tons; and the Christopher, a pinnace, commanded by Thomas Moon, and of the burthen of fifteen tons. Amongst the crews of this Squadron, were one hundred, and sixty-three robust, and experienced Mariners. The rest were officers, musicians, and domestics. With the real designs of Drake, but few of his associates were acquainted, and the majority had been taught to believe that the ships were bound only to Alexandria.

At three in the afternoon of the fifteenth of November, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-seven, Drake (a stranger to the enterprizes of Oxenham), (r) set sail from Plymouth; immediately after his departure, a violent storm arose, during which the Pelican lost her main-mast by the board, and another vessel parted from her anchors, and ran ashore. In order to repair the damages sustained by his Squadron, Drake returned immediately to Plymouth, from whence he again proceeded, on the thirteenth of the following month of December.

On the twenty-fifth, he approached Cape Cantin, in Barbary, and in the latitude of thirty-one degrees, North.

(g) Stowe's Annals, p. 107.

(r) See volume the second of this work, p. 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191.

North. He next (*s*) arrived at the island of Magador, and gave directions for the construction of a pinnace, the pieces of which had been brought from England.

Whilst a part of the crew were employed on this business, several of the natives approached the shore, and having displayed a flag of truce, and adjusted the exchange of hostages, came immediately on board. Apparently delighted with the courteous behaviour of the admiral, and proud to have obtained some presents of linen-cloth, shoes, and a javelin, they promised to return on the following day, with sheep, fowls, and the necessary produce of the country. Early the next morning, they came to the sea-side with laden camels, when a boat was dispatched from the Pelican, for the purpose of receiving such articles as the inhabitants might chuse to relinquish in the way of traffic. When the English had reached the land, John Fry, the foremost of the crew, ran eagerly to embrace the islanders, when, on a sudden, they seized him by the throat, and presenting a dagger to his breast, obliged him to mount a horse, on which he instantly was led away. It appeared, afterwards, that their design was not to injure the man, but only to learn from him the destination of the fleet, and whether it belonged to the Portuguese, with whom the people of Fez were then at war. When the king of the island was informed that the ships were in the service of the queen of England, and had arrived to establish a peaceable, and commercial intercourse, he would have sent Fry with valuable presents to the admiral, but, learning that the ships were departed, gave orders that he should be hospitably treated, and conveyed to England, (which was the case,) in the first vessel of that nation, which might touch at Magador, on her Passage, homewards.

No

(*s*) December 27th.

No sooner was the pinnace constructed than the fleet set sail, and, on the same day (1), coasting along the shore, intercepted, and took three Spanish fishing vessels; and soon afterwards, made prizes of three caravels. On the seventeenth of January, the English arrived at Cape Blanco, in twenty-one degrees of north latitude, where they found a ship, with only two men on board, which they seized, and carried into the harbour. During their abode of four days, at this place, the crews were mustered, and exercised by Drake. At length, having taken some necessaries from the fishermen, and, likewise, obliged them to exchange a vessel of the burthen of forty tons, for the little bark, called the Christopher, the English departed, on the twenty-second of January, and, proceeding to the Cape de Verd islands, obtained a plentiful supply of all refreshments, at Mayo.

From thence, they sailed, on the thirty-first of January, towards Saint Jago, the principal of these islands, but did not stand in too close, from an apprehension of the inhabitants. Here, they chased two Portuguese vessels, and took one, which was freighted with wine. The admiral, having dismissed all her company, excepting Nuno de Silva, the master, (whose perfect knowledge of the coast of Brazil, made it necessary that he should be detained, to officiate as pilot,) gave the command of the vessel to John Doughty, whom we shall have occasion particularly to mention at the conclusion of this memoir. The Portuguese, now, departed in a pinnace, which was given to them, by Drake, together with a butt of wine, and a proper allowance of provisions. At the same time, the English proceeded on their expedition, and passed by the islands of Fuego, and Brama. On the thirteenth of

March,

(1) December 31st.

March, they crossed the equinoctial line; and, on the fifth of April, having been sixty-three days, at sea, without obtaining any sight of land, they made the coast of Brazil, in thirty-three degrees of south latitude. Still continuing their course, they, on the seventh, lost the *Christopher*, (a bark taken in Barbary,) during the violence of the tempest. Each vessel was directed to steer a different course in search of her; and, on the eleventh, the whole squadron met at the same place; a circumstance so pleasing to the admiral, that he called the rendezvous Cape Joy. Here, they found a fertile soil, delightful views, a mild climate, and a salubrious air. The Deer, of an uncommon size, were seen grazing on the plains; but not a single inhabitant could be discovered, although the prints of human feet were visible on the clay. On the twenty-sixth, they arrived at the mouth of Rio de la Plata, (or the river of Plate,) and observed a vast number of sea-calves, or seals.

At this juncture, the *Marigold*, and *Christopher*, having discovered a convenient harbour, of which they had been sent in search, all the ships entered it, and came to an anchor. Whilst the English were working on the shore, they were accosted courteously, but not with any marks of fear by the inhabitants, whose bodies were painted, and who wore no clothing, except the skins of beasts, tied closely round their waists. Having sailed from this haven, farther to the southward, our adventurers arrived, on the twentieth of June, at port Saint Julian, at which place they found a gibbet that had been erected by Magellan, for the execution of mutineers; and, here it was that Doughty, the second in command, was beheaded for having conspired against his admiral.

Departing, on the seventeenth of August, from Saint Julian, with three ships, (the two smallest vessels having been turned adrift, in order that the crews might reinforce the largest) the English arrived on the twentieth, at the stright of Magellan. After a difficult, and tedious passage of sixteen days, they entered into the Southern, or Pacific Ocean, where, contrary to their expectations, they were driven back nearly an hundred leagues to the westward, by the violence of the winds, and storms, during which the *Marigold*, a bark, commanded by captain Thomas, was unfortunately lost.

As a naval writer (u) observes that the following fact is but little known, as not having appeared in any relation of this celebrated voyage, we present the reader with an account of it, in the words of a contemporary historian (x): "In all the streights it ebbeth, and floweth, more, or less. If a man be furnished with wood, and water, and the wind prove favourable, he may keep the main sea, and go round about the streights to the southward; and this is the shorter way. For, besides the experience which we made that all the south part of the streights is but islands, many times having the sea open, I remember that Sir Francis Drake told me that having shot the streights, a storm took him, first, at north-west, and afterwards veered about to the south-west, which continued with him, many days, with that extremity that he could not open any sail, and that at the end of the storm, he found himself in fifty degrees, which was a sufficient proof that he was
" beaten

(u) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 555.

(x) Sir Richard Hawkins's *Observations*, &c. p. 95.

“beaten round about the freights; for the least
 “height of the freight is in fifty-two, and fifty de-
 “grees, in which stand the two entrances, or mouths.
 “And moreover, he said that standing about when the
 “wind changed, he was not well able to double the
 “southermost island, and therefore anchored under the
 “lee of it; and going ashore, carried a compass with
 “him, and seeking out the southermost part of the
 “island, cast himself down upon the uttermost point,
 “groveling, and so reached out his body over it. Soon
 “afterwards, he embarked, where he acquainted his
 “people, that he had been upon the southermost known
 “land in the world, and farther to the southward
 “upon it, than any man yet known.” A learned his-
 torian remarks (y) that this narrative is confirmed by
 the writer of an old chronicle, wherein it is added
 that Drake bestowed on this island the name of Eliza-
 betha, in honour of his royal mistress.

Near the fifty-seventh degree of southern latitude,
 the English entered within a bay, and observed a sa-
 vage tribe of people, without raiment, and passing,
 in their canoes from place, to place, in search of sus-
 tenance. They, next, proceeded northwards, and, on
 the third of October, discovered three islands, in one of
 which were innumerable flocks of birds. On the
 eighteenth, the Elizabeth under the command of cap-
 tain John Winter, was separated from the Pelican, and
 returning through the freight, arrived safely in Eng-
 land, on the second of June, in the succeeding year,
 being the first vessel that ever came back, by that
 course. Drake, with a single ship, was driven into
 fifty-five degrees of southern latitude, from whence,
 he, with the utmost difficulty, regained the height
 of the freight.

G 2

Hav-

(y) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 555.

ORIGINAL SOURCE
 SAINT-SULPICE

J. Simpson

Having advanced thus far, and concluding that the Chili-Shore, as marked upon the map, was precisely correspondent to its real situation, he steered his course north-west, but perceived his error, in the moment that the land appeared, lying to the north-east, or eastwards. Hence did it seem evident that this part of Chili, had either never been exactly discovered, until that period, or not truly reported by the space of at least twelve degrees. Whether ignorance, or an intention to mislead, gave rise to this description is not easy to determine.

Again pursuing their course, the English, on the twenty-ninth of November, made the island of Machao, in thirty-eight degrees, and thirty minutes; and, soon afterwards, cast anchor. The admiral, having ordered that the boat should immediately be manned, disembarked, with ten of his associates. They were quickly surrounded by the inhabitants, who, apparently inclined to peace and hospitality, presented them with two exceeding fat Sheep, some Potatoes, and various roots. These savages received, afterwards, with every outward mark of amity, and satisfaction, several articles of European merchandize. On the day following, the admiral sent two of the crew, on shore, with barrels, which they were directed to fill with water. Immediately on their landing, they were attacked by those very natives, who, at a former interview, had seemed so gentle, and inoffensive. Whether they were regarded as Spaniards, is uncertain; but there is every reason to suppose that they were dragged to a retired spot, and treacherously murdered, as multitudes of the savages ran furiously to the shore, and discharged a volley of arrows at the nine Englishmen appointed to guard the boat. Of these, all were severely wounded.

When,

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. 101

When, with difficulty, they had reached the ship, the admiral, who judged it necessary to escape, with precipitation, from dangers that could not be resisted, gave orders to prepare for sailing. The vessel was no sooner under way than he expressed his resolution to steer towards the coast of Chili. Thither, he arrived in safety, and was informed by an Indian fisherman (who hailed him from his canoe,) that a large Spanish ship, richly freighted, and returned from the kingdom of Peru, was at anchor off Valparizo. Thither the English soon arrived, attended by the Indian, who officiated as pilot. The Spaniards, mistaking them for fellow-subjects, prepared to welcome their approach; and, as a mark of joy, drank to them, by beat of drum, in cups of Chili wine. The violent hostilities with which this friendly ceremony was returned, convinced the Spaniards of their error; nor had they leisure for opposition, before the English, seizing all the crew, (excepting one who leaped overboard, and swam to Saint Jago,) confined them underneath the hatchways, and took possession of the ship. The cargo proved of immense value; and, amongst other articles, were four hundred pounds of the Baldivian, or purest gold, together with a cross of the same metal, richly studded with emeralds (z). After this exploit, Drake and his associates, proceeded to a neighbouring town, the houses, and chapel of which, they stripped of all their contents, carrying away cedar-wood, Chili wine, silver chalices, and altar-cloths.

On the nineteenth of December, the English came to an anchor at Coquimbo, in twenty-nine degrees, and thirty minutes. Here, fourteen of the crew ventured ashore, and were immediately attacked by a small army

G 3

(z) M. S. Isaac Casaubon.

my of Spaniards, consisting of three hundred cavalry, and two hundred infantry. It is astonishing that these numbers should have slain only one Englishman, and still more extraordinary that basely declining the contest, they should have suffered the remaining thirteen to return in safety to their ships.

On the following day, they entered a more commodious haven, nearly in twenty eight degrees, and remained in it, during a full month, for the purpose of careening their own ships, and the Spanish prize, and also to construct a pinnace.

Towards the end of January, they arrived at the port of Tarapaxa, and, on the adjoining shore, perceived a Spaniard, in a deep slumber, and lying near thirteen bars of silver, of the value of four thousand ducats. These, the English took, without disturbing the person appointed to guard them, and immediately proceeded to a neighbouring place, where, disembarking for water, they intercepted a Spaniard, and an Indian, who were conducting, along the road, eight Peruvian sheep (*a*), each of which was laden with two leathern bags, containing, in the whole, one hundred pounds weight of pure silver. These also the English seized, and having ordered the drivers to depart, carried the plunder safely to the ship. They, next, entered the port of Arica, in eighteen degrees, and thirty minutes of southern latitude, where they found three ships, intirely destitute of crews, but laden with various

(*a*) It had been asserted that several of these sheep were as large as cows of a common size, and much stronger. Three robust men, together with a boy, are mentioned to have ridden on their backs, at one time, when the creatures supported their weight, with ease. They had necks like camels; their wool was of an exceedingly fine texture; and their flesh was esteemed delicious.—Drake revived.

various articles of merchandize, and fifty-seven wedges of silver, each of which weighed twenty pounds. The English did not venture to attack a neighbouring town, consisting of twenty houses, but stood off to sea, and, shortly afterwards, intercepted a small vessel, freighted with linen-cloth. Of this they took a part, and then suffered the Spaniards to renew their course.

On the fifteenth of February, they arrived at Callao, the port of Lima, the capital of Peru, situated in eleven degrees, and fifty minutes of south latitude, where they found twelve ships which were lying at anchor. No men were on board of these; a circumstance not extraordinary at places so distant from Europe, and where neither pirates, nor enemies of any kind had been accustomed to approach. Previous to the arrival of Drake, only Magellan, and the Spaniards had navigated these seas. The latter constructed at Callao all the vessels which were necessary for their voyages, in those parts. The booty which the English took out of the twelve ships, consisted of great quantities of silk, and linen, a chest intirely filled with coined money, and fifteen hundred bars of silver.

Having cut the cables of the Spanish vessels, and set them all adrift, the English sailed in pursuit of the *Cacofogo*, a ship of immense value, which was supposed, from well-grounded information, to have proceeded in the month of February, on a voyage to Panama. During their cruize, the English intercepted, and took a Spanish brigantine, which they suffered to depart, after having seized eighty pounds weight of gold, a crucifix of the same metal, several emeralds of more than two inches in length; and a small quantity of cordage. Shortly afterwards, they chased, and came up with the *Cacofogo*, near cape Saint Francis, in one

degree of north latitude, and at the distance of about one hundred and fifty leagues from Panama.

The gold chain, worn by Drake, had been promised to the person who should first descry this rich vessel, and John, the brother of our brave adventurer, acquired it, by having discovered her, as he was sitting in the top. At six, in the afternoon, the English came along side, and, having fortunately shot away her mast, they boarded, and took her unresisting. The plunder consisted of an immense quantity of pearls, and jewels, eighty pounds weight of gold, thirteen chests full of coined silver, and twenty-six tons weight of unrefined silver. Having secured the whole of this treasure, amounting in value nearly to ninety thousand pounds sterling, the English suffered the Cacologo to depart.

They next proceeded to the westward, and, during their course, towards the middle of March, intercepted, and took a vessel freighted with linen cloth, china-dishes, and silk. From a passenger on board, who was a native of Spain, and of noble birth, Drake seized the figure of a falcon, wrought in massy gold, and bearing on its breast, an emerald of great size, and of immense value. Having secured the richest part of the cargo, and detained the pilot for the purpose of navigating their own ship, the English suffered the vessel to proceed upon their voyage.

Drake, and his associates, now steered towards the north, cruized off the coast of Mexico, and, on the fifteenth of April, landed at Acapulco. Here the judges were sitting in court, and preparing to give sentence against some negroes, who had been accused of a design to burn the town. The English put an immediate stop to all judicial proceedings, by seizing the magistrates, the evidences, and the criminals, all of whom were

were conveyed prisoners to the ship. This act of violence was followed by the sackage of the town, the chief treasure in which consisted of several rials of plate. The most valuable prize was taken by Thomas Moon, from a Spaniard, who vainly attempted to save himself by flight. It consisted of a ponderous gold chain, and several large jewels. Previous to his departure, the admiral set ashore some Spanish prisoners, together with the Portuguese pilot, whom he had compelled to enter on board the ship, at the islands of Cape de Verd.

The English next arrived at the isle of Canno, where they unladed, and repaired the ship. In a few days after they had cast anchor, a Spanish vessel, bound to the Philippines, came within the harbour. They immediately searched her, and, having seized the most valuable part of the cargo, permitted the Spaniards, amongst whom was the governor of the islands, to proceed, with their ship, upon the voyage.

The English were now sated with plunder, and expressed an eager inclination to return home. An attempt to pass the streights of Magellan was deemed imprudent. They had heard of the multitude of rocks, and shallows, but were ignorant of their situation. There, also, the tempests were frequent, and dangerous; nor were these the only obstacles: Drake had, learned, from good authority, that Don Francisco de Toledo, the vice-roy of Peru, had sent Peter Sarmiento, and other naval officers to the streights, for the purpose of intercepting him on his passage. He, therefore, determined to steer his course by North America, and sailed to the northern latitude of forty-three degrees, in order to discover whether any strait was on that side by which he might return the most speedily to England. His endeavours were soon frustrated; and the

the intense cold, dark Fogs, and drifts of snow which were blown by the hurricanes, even in the month of June, from the adjacent, and open shore, obliged him to put back into the latitude of thirty-eight degrees. Here, in the northern parts of California, he entered a commodious harbour, and was kindly received by the Indians who inhabited the neighbouring country. They were without raiment, appeared chearful in their disposition, and with a mixture of mirth, and solemnity, formed a ring around the English, to whom they offered sacrifices, and by the most significant gestures expressed an inclination to confer a kind of sovereignty on the admiral.

Some historians have observed that the king of these Indians offered to resign his authority to Drake, and to become his vassal, in confirmation of which the latter threw his chain of gold about the neck of the voluntarily deposed sovereign, and taking the crown of feathers, placed it on his own head. With whatsoever view the Indians pursued this extraordinary conduct, Drake seriously affected to assume the possession of the territories, in the name, and for the use of queen Elizabeth. That the English nation might reap an advantage from a friendly intercourse with these people was, at that period, no improbable conjecture, and the more especially as the Spaniards had never visited the country, nor ever discovered the land, by many degrees to the southward of the place.

To this region, the soil of which was extremely fertile, Drake gave the appellation of New-Albion, not only because it alluded to the ancient name of England, but because, like that kingdom, it was surrounded on the sea-side, by white banks, and cliffs. At a small distance from the shore, he erected a pillar, on which were inscribed the titles of Elizabeth, the date of the

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arrival of the English (b), and his own name. At the bottom of the pillar were buried several British coins. During their residence at this place, the English had frequent interviews with the natives, who continually brought them the most valuable commodities as presents, and, on every third day, came to offer sacrifice, until Drake, by signs, expressed his abhorrence of the practice, and obliged them to desist. By some appearances in veins on the surface of the earth, and the pieces of ground which were dugged up, it was natural to conclude that there were mines of gold, and silver, but the English had no opportunity of procuring any of these valuable metals (c).

Having sailed from New-Albion, the English lost sight of land, until the thirteenth of October, on the morning of which day, they arrived off certain islands, in eight degrees of North latitude, and were soon surrounded by Indians, in canoes which were rendered hollow within, and, on the outer side, appeared smooth, and shining, like burnished horn. The persons who rowed them had cut the lower part of their ears into a circular piece, which was considerably distended by the weight of rings fixed within it, and hung down upon their cheeks. Their nails were a full inch in length from the extremity of the fingers, and their teeth were rendered black by art; a circumstance which, in their opinion, was so necessary to constitute a part of beauty, that they frequently renewed the colour, by

chew-

(b) June, 1579.

(c) Amongst the deer, and other animals of this country, Purchas makes mention of a singular species of rabbit, the body of which was of the size of a Barbary rabbit, the head resembling that of the European breed, and the feet like those of a mole. It had the tail of a rat; and on each side, under the throat, were bags, in which it preserved its meat.

chewing an herb, mixt with a kind of powder; the properties of which were to convert whatsoever it touched, into a deep jet. These Indians appeared to be of gentle dispositions, and presented the English with fruit, and the various produce of the country.

On the eighteenth of October, Drake touched at several other islands, where he observed the traces of inhabitants, although none approached the shore. Continuing his course, he passed by the isles of Faguloda, (abounding with cinnamon,) Zelon, and Zevenna, these were all in subjection to the crown of Portugal.

In the following month, the English departed from this coast, and proceeded to the westward; on their passage to the Moluccas, where they arrived at Ternate, the chief, and most fertile of the islands, and the residence of the king, who received his visitors with such magnificence, and hospitality, as bespoke a refinement of manners which, at that period, was seldom found in countries even less distant from the more polished, and well-regulated states of Europe. Previous to the departure of Drake, this accomplished prince expressed a wish to cast himself, with all his claims of empire, at the feet of so wise, and powerful a sovereign as Elizabeth.

From the Moluccas, the English continued their voyage through dangerous seas, surrounded by islands, and beset with rocks, on one of which their ship unfortunately ran, and stuck fast during twenty-seven hours (d). From the first moment of the accident, the crew were incessantly employed in lightening the vessel, and cast overboard eight guns, three tons of cloves, and a large quantity of provisions. Soon afterwards, and at a time when the sprit-sail was set, a bearing gale of wind took the ship in the quarter, and heaved her off.

(d) January 9, 1580.

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On the eighth of February, they made the island of Borateve, (nearly seven degrees south of the line,) the inhabitants of which were comely, and well proportioned, courteous to strangers, and strictly honest in their dealings. The country abounded, not only with mines of gold, and silver, but with quantities of valuable articles. Of all places which the English had visited, except Ternate, this was the most plentifully supplied with every requisite whatsoever that could administer to the comforts, and conveniencies of existence.

Departing from Borateve, on the tenth of February, they arrived at Java Minor, and were hospitably entertained by one of the five joint sovereigns of the island, four of whom dined on board the ship. The admiral was here informed that some exceedingly large vessels were cruising at no considerable distance, and, therefore, judged it prudent to sail immediately for the cape of Good Hope, where he arrived in the month of June. At this place, which on their return to England, they represented as the most delightful promontory that had been ever seen, they disembarked, and searched, along the western shore, for springs of fresh water. After much loss of time, they returned without the least success, and were again reduced to the necessity of drinking rain-water, three butts of which (unequal, indeed, to the wants of fifty-seven men,) had prudently been saved. On the fifteenth of June, they doubled the cape, and, by a quick, and easy passage, discovered how grossly the Portuguese had imposed on other nations, by false accounts of the dangers that attended it.

They next sailed towards Rio Grande, in Negroland, where they arrived in the month of July, and having obtained the necessary quantity of fresh water, proceeded

ceeded on their course for England. At the close of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty, the brave, and adventurous Drake, together with his associates, arrived at Plymouth, and terminated a voyage, in which, to the astonishment of their fellow-subjects, and all Europe, they had compleatly surrounded the globe.

It may, in this place, be proper to remark that an historian (*e*), of respectable authority, hath differed from other authors in his account of the return of Drake. He observes that this adventurer came under the line, on the twelfth of July; that, on the sixteenth, he made the coast of Guinea; that on the twenty-second of August, he reached the height of the Canaries; that on the eleventh of September, he fell in with Tercera; that on the twenty-fourth, he approached the isles of Scilly; and, on the twenty-fifth, arrived at Plymouth. The same historian adds that if Drake was not the first who could challenge this glory, yet he was indisputably the second, and next to Magellan, who died upon his passage. The former discovered, at his return, that he had lost but one natural day of his reckoning, during the course of his voyage.

We cannot avoid observing with another naval writer (*f*), that it is extraordinary that not one of those contemporaries who have related the enterprizes of Drake, should precisely mention the day of his arrival in England. Holingshed fixes it, on the twenty-sixth of September; and Hackluyt, Camden, and many others, date it on the third of November: But Stowe, and several historians content themselves with remarking that he returned towards the close of the year; and hence, it is evident that, at this juncture, the exact time of his arrival cannot certainly be determined.

Al-

(*e*) Sir William Monson.

(*f*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 556.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. 111

Although the multitude were unable to withhold their approbation, and astonishment, when they considered the extraordinary enterprizes of this brave, and fortunate adventurer; yet several of the courtiers, who dreaded the resentment of the Spaniards, suggested to Elizabeth the necessity of declaring that she had never given the least countenance to the undertaking, and was not only resolved to punish Drake, but to compel him to restore the treasures which he had seized. Whilst a powerful party reproached him with acts of piracy, refused to accept of his proffered gold, insisted that it was equally dangerous, and disgraceful for a trading nation to give the least encouragement to the violent avarice, and ambition of a desperate individual, complained that his conduct was not only a direct infraction of all the preceding treaties with Spain, but a breach of the ancient compact with the house of Burgundy, and vehemently asserted that the consequences which must result from a public avowal of his proceedings would be much more fatal, than the benefits reaped from them could be advantageous; another party, not less formidable, alleged that his exploit was at once honourable to himself, and to his country, that it would occasion all foreign nations to conceive the highest Idea of the maritime knowledge of the English, and raise an useful spirit of emulation amongst the subjects of Elizabeth, and that, with regard to the money, no circumstance could be more just than that the benefits arising from reprisals made by Drake, should be enjoyed by the mercantile bodies of the state, who had suffered grievously in consequence of the faithless, and hostile practices of the Spaniards. The queen, charmed with the heroism, and enterprising genius of this illustrious seaman, nor yet averse from sharing in the plunder, bestowed on him the most public testimony

mony of her applause, and condescended to preside at a magnificent entertainment which he gave at Deptford (g), on board of the vessel that had performed this extraordinary voyage. On this occasion, Elizabeth advanced him to the honour of knighthood, and directed that the ship should be laid up in the dock, and carefully preserved as a monument of national reputation (h). In process of time, it became decayed, and was broken up, when a gentleman of the name of Davis, converted one of the planks into a chair, and presented it to the university of Oxford (i) (k).

When

(g) April 4. 1581.

(h) During this ceremony, some Winchester-scholars affixed the following verses to the main-mast.

Plus ultra Herculeis inscribas Drace Columnis,
Et magno dicas Hercule major ero.

Drace, perrerati novit quem Terminus Orbis,
Quemque semel Mundi vidit uterque Polus,
Si taceant Homines, facient te Sidera notum:
Sol nescit Comitibus non memor esse sui.

Digna Ratis quæ stet radiantibus inclita Stellis;
Supremo Cæli Vertice digna Ratis.

(i) A knight, whose zeal for the reputation of Drake, and his brave associates, was certainly superior to his taste in architecture, proposed that the chair should be placed on the top of the cathedral of saint Paul. With more propriety, was it admitted within the museum of curiosities, at Oxford; an event which hath been thus celebrated by Cowley:

To this great ship which round the world hath run,
And match'd, in race, the chariot of the sun,
This Pythagorean ship, (for, it may claim,
Without presumption, so deserv'd a name,)
By knowledge once, and transformation now,
In her new shape, this sacred port allow.
Drake, and his ship could not have with'd from fate
An happier station, or more bless'd estate:
For so a Seat of endless rest is giv'n
To her in Oxford, and to him in heav'n.

(k) Of the persons who accompanied Drake, only the following are mentioned by name. Thomas Drake, John Drake,

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. 113

When Bernardino de Mendoza, the ambassador from the court of Spain, exclaimed against the piracies of Drake, and demanded the fullest restitution, Elizabeth replied that " Philip, and his subjects who, contrary to the law of nations, threw almost insuperable impediments against the foreign commerce of the English, had drawn these mischiefs upon themselves; that Drake should be forth coming to answer according to law, if he were convicted, by good evidence, and testimony, to have committed any crime against law, and right; that the goods were laid by, purposely, that satisfaction might be made to the Spaniards, although the queen had expended a greater sum of money than Drake had brought in, to quell the rebels whom Philip had raised, and encouraged against her, both in England, and in Ireland. Moreover, she understood not why her subjects, or those of any other prince, should be debarred from the Indies, which she could not persuade herself that the Spaniard had any just title to, by the donation of the bishop of Rome, (in whom she acknowledged no prerogative, much less authority, in such cases, so as to lay any tie upon princes who owed him no obedience, or observance, or, as it were to infeoff the Spaniard, in that new world, and to invest him with the possession thereof,) nor yet by any other claim than as they had touched, here, and there, upon the coasts, builded cottages, and given names to a river, or a cape; which things cannot intitle them unto a propriety. So that this donation of what belongs to another man, which is of no validity

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Drake, Thomas Hood, Thomas Blacoler, John Gripe, George, a musician, Crane, Fletcher, Cary, Thomas Moone, John Thomas, Robert Winterly, and Oliver, a gunner.

"in law, and this imaginary propriety cannot hinder
 "other princes from trading into those countries, and,
 "without breach of the law of nations, from trans-
 "porting colonies into those parts thereof, where the
 "Spaniards inhabit not, (forasmuch as prescription,
 "without possession, is little worth,) neither from
 "freely navigating that vast ocean, seeing that the use
 "of the sea, and air is common to all mankind. Nor
 "can a title to the ocean belong to any people,
 "or to private persons; forasmuch as neither nature,
 "nor custom permits any possession thereof."

Notwithstanding this spirited reply, Elizabeth, anxious to maintain some terms of peace with an adversary at once so formidable, and incensed as Philip, gave orders that a part of the plunder should be delivered to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who stiled himself an agent for the merchants whom Drake had injured. The money was afterwards seized by the Catholic monarch, and employed partly for the purpose of paying the troops, raised by the prince of Parma, and partly for the support of the Irish Insurgents who had opposed the government of Elizabeth; a circumstance which determined that princess to make no more restitutions to the Spaniards (1).

In

(1) The several particulars relating to this voyage round the world are taken from various manuscripts belonging to the Cottonian library.—Camden's Annals.—Harris's Collection of voyages.—Sir William Monson's Tracts.—Prince's Worthies of Devonshire.—Stowe's Annals.—Burchett's Memoirs.—Hume's History of England.—Lediard's Naval History.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.—Hackluyt's voyages.—Purchas's Pilgrims.—The World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, London, 1652. quarto.—Dampier's Voyages, V. 4. p. 101. edit. 1729.—Holingshed, V. 2.—Sir Richard Hawkins's Observations.—Speed.—and Sir Francis Drake revived.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. 115

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-five, preparations were commenced by Drake, and the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney, for an expedition to the West-Indies. It was intended to be partly maritime, and partly invasive. The naval armaments were to be commanded solely by the former, and the land-forces receive orders to act under the absolute direction of the latter. On a sudden, the queen signified her pleasure that Sir Philip should retire from this service, and that Drake should proceed immediately on the voyage.

The following is an authentic list of the fleet which was equipped on this occasion.

The Elizabeth Bonaventure, Sir Francis Drake, and, under him, captain Thomas Fenner.

Primrose, vice-admiral, Martin Frobisher.

Galleon Leicester, rear-admiral, Francis Knollis.

Aid, Edward Winter.
Tiger, Christopher Carlisse, lieutenant-general.

Sea Dragon, Henry White.

Thomas, Thomas Drake.

Minion, Thomas Seely.

Bark Talbot, ——— Bailey.

Bark Bond, Robert Cross.

Bark Bonner, George Fortescue.

Hope, Edward Careless.

White Lion, James Erizo.

Francis, Thomas Moon.

Vantage, John Rivers.

Drake, John Vaughan.

George, John Varney.

The Benjamin,	John Martin.
Scout,	Edward Gilman.
Galliot Duck,	Richard Hawkins.
Swallow,	——— Bitfield.

Concerning the burthen of the ships, and the number of their guns, our historians are silent. On board, were two thousand, and three hundred volunteers, exclusive of the mariners. Christopher Carlisle, a brave, and experienced warrior, equally versed in the operations of ships, and armies, was appointed commander in chief of the land forces, and raised to the rank of lieutenant-general. Under him were Anthony Powel, captain, and serjeant-major, Matthew Morgan, and John Sampson, captains, and corporals of the field, together with ten officers of distinction.

On the fifteenth of September, the whole fleet proceeded from Plymouth, and, sailing towards the coasts of Spain, took several prizes of considerable value. At Bayonne, Vigo, and the isle of Ferro, the troops disembarked, in search of plunder, of which the chiefest was the plate belonging to the cathedral at Vigo, together with a crucifix of an immense size, composed of massive silver, and doubly gilt. According to the computations of the Spaniards, their loss amounted to the value of more than thirty thousand ducats.

From these places, the English directed their course to Saint Jago, near Cape de Verde, and reached it on the sixteenth of November, Having cast anchor between that town, and another which was called Praje, Carlisle proposed to take the former by surprise, and landing, in the dusk of the evening, at the head of one thousand men, proceeded, without opposition, to a general pillage, during which, the soldiers seized great quantities of meal, wine, oil, and various provisions, but could

could not discover any riches. Here, the English remained almost a fortnight, in expectation that either the governor, the bishop, or some of the principal inhabitants of the town, and Island, would appear to offer advantageous terms for the prevention of hostilities. At length, concluding that they had withdrawn, and were resolved not to return, whilst an enemy was in sight, the general directed his troops to reduce the town, and all the neighbouring houses, except the hospital, to ashes.

In the week after their departure from Saint Jago, the English were attacked by a contagious disorder, to which, in a short space of time, almost two hundred were miserably sacrificed. On the eighteenth day, they arrived at Dominica, in the West-Indies. Having procured a supply of fresh water, they sailed to the island of Saint Christopher, and remained there, in order to re-establish their health, during the greater part of December, but were not visited by any of the inhabitants.

At this place, it was determined, in a full council of war, that the fleet should proceed to Hispaniola. Arriving there, on the first of January, the forces, amounting to twelve hundred men, were disembarked, under the command of Carlisle, and immediately began their march towards the city of Saint Domingo. As they approached the western gates, in two separate bodies, they were feebly opposed by an hundred and fifty of the Spanish cavalry, receiving, at the same time, some volleys of shot from musqueteers who were concealed behind the trees. After the first moment of resistance, these affrighted adversaries retired with precipitation, and tamely permitted their invaders to pass forward into the city, from whence the townsmen (having fired, but with little effect, some

rounds of cannon,) fled, with every appearance of consternation, and disorder.

The English now drew up in two columns, near the market-cross, and close the cathedral, which they fortified, intending that it should serve them, as a place of refuge, in the hour of danger. At midnight, the Spaniards, who had been quartered in the castle, discovering that the English were at the gate, deserted from their posts. Numbers were intercepted in their flight, and taken prisoners; the rest escaped in boats to the opposite side of the haven, and from thence, retreated into the country. On the day following, the English were stationed more at large, and, unmolested, kept possession of the place, during a full month. At the expiration of this period, and whilst the inhabitants remained unwilling to contribute any considerable sums in order to secure themselves from that destruction with which they had been threatened, the troops were directed to set fire to the buildings in the suburbs. A flame was scarcely lighted for the execution of this dreadful purpose, when each citizen entered into an agreement to redeem the town, with the sum of twenty-five thousand ducats. This composition was accepted, and quickly paid, when the English, after having seized a large stock of provisions, mercery-wares, and household-furniture, together with a small quantity of plate, proceeded on their expedition.

They next approached towards Carthage, at the distance of nearly five miles from which, the troops were disembarked, whilst the admiral, with his pinnaces, and boats compleatly manned, attempted, but without success, to enter the harbour, which was defended by a strong fort. In the mean time, the soldiers, under the command of Carlisle, advanced, at

mid-

midnight, silently along the shore, and before break of day, arrived at the town, and reduced it, after a short engagement, during which several of the English were mortally wounded by arrows, the points of which had been dipped in venom, and also, by spikes which were driven into the paths, and like the former weapons, anointed with a poisonous liquid. The Spaniards who had been warned of their approaching danger by the people of Hispaniola, took care to bury their chief treasures in subterraneous places, and were, at first so averse from parting with the least portion of their property, that they refused to advance a sum sufficient to induce the conquerors to relinquish their design of setting fire to the city. But, when they perceived that the flames were bursting from several of the houses, they intreated the general to give orders that the conflagration might be immediately extinguished, and, in return, offered to ransom the town for an hundred, and ten thousand ducats, and the Abbey for one thousand crowns. The proposal was immediately assented to, and the money (paid upon the spot,) was equally divided between the mariners, and the soldiers.

The infectious disorder which had raged, with such fatality, amongst his men, reduced the admiral to the necessity of relinquishing his design to attack Nombre de Dios, and, from thence, to proceed, by land, to Panama. Accordingly on the first of March, and after having remained during six weeks, at Carthagena, he steered his course for England. On the third day from his departure, a large Spanish vessel, which had been taken at Saint Domingo, and, afterwards, freighted with ordnance, hides, and other articles of plunder, was discovered to be leaky, and, with difficulty, preserved from sinking before the whole fleet returned to

Carthagena, at which place the admiral stayed, for the space of twelve days, until the vessel was put into complete repair. Again proceeding on his voyage, He passed between Cuba, and Juceatan, and sailing along the coasts, came, at length, to an anchor near the small towns of Saint Anthony, and Saint Austin, both of which had been abandoned by the Spaniards, and were, afterwards, reduced, by the English troops, to ashes. Amidst the plunder taken in the last, was a chest containing money to the value of two thousand pounds sterling, and designed to defray the expences of the army. The next intended enterprize of Sir Frances, and his associates, was against the town of Saint Helena, at the distance of nearly twelve leagues to the northward; but the dangerous appearance of the Shoals, and the want of an experienced pilot, obliged this brave adventurer to change his plan of operations.

The English now sailed along the coast of Florida, and, keeping near the shore, passed six degrees farther to the northward, until they reached the colony which had been planted in Virginia. On the ninth of June, they discerned a fire burning near the sea-side, and, immediately, sent an officer, in the boat, to make the necessary inquiries. At his return, he was accompanied by one of the new settlers, who, having directed the admiral to the most commodious harbour, was desired to rejoin his associates, and inform them that they might be supplied with such stores as they wanted. On the following day, Mr. Ralph Lane, who presided at the English fort, erected at Roanock, paid a visit to Sir Francis, and earnestly requested those provisions which could be spared, a reinforcement of men, a small vessel, and some proper boats, that so they might be enabled, in any future moment of distress to abandon the colony, (where they feared it

it was impossible to prosper,) and return, in safety, to the mother-country. A ship was instantly assigned to them, and furnished with all necessaries; but, in the very moment that they became possessed of this valuable present, a violent tempest arose, which lasted during three days, and, at length, drove the vessel from her anchors, out to sea. She, soon afterwards, disappeared, and was seen no more, until her return to England.

The admiral again offered to furnish them with another vessel, but, dreading a perpetual miscarriage of their enterprizes, they could not be prevailed on to accept it, and expressed a wish that they might be conveyed to England. Accordingly, they were all received on board the fleet, which, departing from the coast, on the eighteenth of June, arrived at Portsmouth, on the twenty-eighth of July, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-six (*m*).

The value of the plunder taken, during the course of this enterprize, from the Spaniards, amounted to sixty thousand pounds sterling. They, also, lost two hundred, and forty pieces of cannon, of which by far the greater number were composed of brass. Forty thousand pounds of the money arising from the different captures, were divided among the chief adventurers, and twenty thousand pounds amongst the mariners of the fleet. Each share amounted nearly to sixty pounds.

On this expedition, Sir Francis Drake was the first of his countrymen who landed in New-England, being a part of the continent discovered by Barlow, and Amidas. He remained, during two days on the coast, trading with the inhabitants, and previous to his departure,

(*m*) Mr. Lane is imagined to have been the first person who introduced the use of Tobacco in England.

pasture, accepted, with great form, of the submission of one of the Indian kings to the authority of Elizabeth.

The profits accruing from the success of his exploits were moderate; and, on this occasion, it was insinuated that Drake chose rather to weaken the enemy, than enrich himself. In confirmation of the idea, an historian (n) hath observed that it was a maxim, from which this illustrious adventurer never varied, to regard the service of his country, first; next, the advantage of the Proprietors; and, last of all, but with due attention, his own interest. Hence, although rich in pecuniary acquisitions, He was still more opulent in reputation. (o).

It cannot be improper to conclude our relation of this enterprize with the remarks of a contemporary, and discerning writer (p).

“The voyage of Sir Francis Drake being the first undertaking on either side, (for it ensued immediately after the arrest of our ships, and goods in Spain,) I will deliver my opinion of it; and, with the service done, observe the mistakes, and over-
sights.”

(n) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 559.

(o) The particulars relating to this expedition are taken from Camden's Annals, p. 353, &c.—Hackluyt's Voyages, Part III. p. 534.—History of Virginia.—Lediard's naval history, V. 1. Folio. p. 213, &c.—Stowe's Annals, p. 709.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 558, 559.—Columna Rostrata.—British Empire in America.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 169.—Sir Francis Drake revived.—A summary, and true Discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage, accompanied with Christopher Carlisle, Martin Frobisher, Francis Knollys, and many other captains, and gentlemen, wherein were taken the towas of Saint Jago, Saint Domingo, Carthagena, and Saint Augustine. London, 1652. Quarto.

(p) Sir William Monson.

“ fights committed, as a warning to those that shall
 “ read them, and to prevent the like errors here-
 “ after.”

“ One impediment to the voyage is that to which
 “ the ill success of divers others which followed after-
 “ wards is to be imputed, namely, the want of vic-
 “ tuals, and other necessaries fit for so great an expe-
 “ dition ; for had not the fleet, by chance, met with
 “ a ship of Biscay, on her return from Newfoundland,
 “ laden with fish, which relieved their wants, they had
 “ been reduced to great extremity.”

“ The English fleet was the greatest (if we except
 “ that of the Spaniards) which had been ever seen in
 “ those seas, since the first discovery of them ; and
 “ if it had been as well considered of before their go-
 “ ing from home, as it was happily performed by the
 “ valour of the undertakers, it had more annoyed the
 “ king of Spain than all other actions that ensued,
 “ during the time of the war.”

“ But it seems that our long peace made us incapa-
 “ ble of advice in war ; for had we kept, and de-
 “ fended these places, when in our possession, and pro-
 “ vided to have been relieved, and succoured out of
 “ England, we had diverted the war from this part of
 “ Europe ; for, at that time, there was no comparison
 “ betwixt the strength of Spain and England, by sea,
 “ by means whereof we might have better defended
 “ them, and, with more ease, have encroached upon
 “ the rest of the Indies, than the king of Spain could
 “ have aided, or succoured them.”

“ But now we see, and find by experience, that
 “ those places which were then weak, and unfortified,
 “ are since so fortified that it is to no purpose to us to
 “ annoy the king of Spain, in his Western Indies. And

“ al-

“ although this voyage proved both fortunate, and
“ victorious, yet considering that it was rather an
“ awakening, than a weakening of him, it had been
“ far better to have wholly declined, than to have un-
“ dertaken it upon such slender grounds, and with so
“ inconsiderable forces.”

The Biscayan ship alluded to in the preceding quotation was the first Spanish prize taken after the commencement of the war, nor can we give the reader a better account of this single engagement, than in the words of the same historian :

“ I was then a youth of sixteen years of age,
“ and so inclined to see the world abroad, that without the knowledge of father or mother, I put
“ myself into an action by sea, where there was in
“ company of us, two small ships fitted for men of
“ war, that authorized us, by commission, to seize
“ upon the subjects of the kingdom of Spain. We de-
“ parted from the Isle of Wight, to which place we
“ returned with our dear bought prize. She was a Biscayner, of the burthen of three hundred tons, well
“ manned, sufficiently furnished, and bravely defended.
“ She came from Grand Bay in Newfoundland, and
“ was met by us at our first arrival upon the coast of
“ Spain. As she refused to yield to us, we suddenly
“ boarded, and by consent of all our men entered her ;
“ but the waves of the sea growing very high, we were
“ forced to ungrapple, and to leave our men fighting
“ on board of her, from eight of the clock in the
“ evening, until eight in the morning.”

“ The Spaniards betook themselves to their close
“ fight, and gave two attempts, by trains of powder
“ to blow up her decks, on which we were ; but we
“ happily prevented it by fire-pikes. Thus continued
“ the

“ the fight until seven in the morning, when the Spaniards found that they had so many men killed, and disabled, that they were forced to yield.”

“ When we came to have a view of our people, we found few left alive, but could shew a wound, or shot through their cloaths, in that fight. We were a woeful spectacle, as well as the Spaniards; and I dare say that, in the whole time of the war there was not so rare a manner of fight, or so great a slaughter of men on both sides.”

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-seven, the queen received intelligence that her ambitious and restless adversary Philip, notwithstanding that he publicly affected to be insensible of those repeated insults which were offered to him by the English, was secretly preparing a formidable naval armament, to be employed against her, in the ensuing summer. She, therefore, appointed Sir Francis Drake to the command of a fleet designed to intercept the supplies of that monarch, to lay waste his coasts, and to destroy his shipping.

How well enabled the Spaniards were to carry their designs into execution, and by what means the impending danger was made known to the ministers of Elizabeth, may be gathered from the following passage, in a letter, written by Sir Francis Drake, the successful hero who was chosen to enfeeble, and retard the measures of an exasperated foe, who meditated the absolute destruction of a people, whose growing power he beheld with jealousy, and whose religious principles he had been taught to execrate.

“ The Spaniards had provisions of bread and wine sufficient to last, and maintain forty thousand men, during the whole year. The secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, had intelligence from Madrid, that Philip

“ lip assured his council that he had dispatched an
“ express to Rome, with a letter written, with his own
“ hand, to the Pope, acquainting him with the true
“ design of his preparations, and asking his blessing
“ upon them, which, for some reasons, he would
“ not yet disclose to them, until the return of the
“ courier. The secret being thus lodged with the
“ Pope, Walsingham, by the means of a Venetian priest,
“ retained at Rome, as his spy, got a copy of the ori-
“ ginal letter, which was stolen out of a cabinet be-
“ longing to the Pope, by a gentleman of his Bed-
“ chamber, who took the keys out of his pocket,
“ whilst he slept.”

The fleet equipped, on this occasion, amounted to thirty sail, of which twenty-six were furnished by the most opulent merchants of London, whom Drake had particularly recommended to Elizabeth, and who were the more eager to contribute their assistance, as they had entertained hopes of sharing in the expected plunder. The remaining four ships, and two pinnaces, belonged particularly to the queen. Their names were the Bonaventure, admiral; the Lion, commanded by William Borrough, the comptroller of the navy; the Dreadnought, captain Thomas Fenner; and Rainbow, captain Henry Bellingham.

Sir Francis proceeded from the sound of Plymouth, at the commencement of the month of April, and steered towards the coast of Spain. On the sixteenth, and, in the latitude of forty degrees, he intercepted two Dutch vessels, on their passage to Middleburgh: From the commanders of these, he learned that a Spanish fleet, richly laden, and plentifully supplied with ammunition, and provisions, was lying at Cadiz, in readiness to sail for Lisbon, the destined rendezvous of the invincible Armada. Having obtained this
informa-

information, he immediately hastened to the former port, and arriving there on the nineteenth of the same month, began a furious attack, and forced six galleies which, at first, made head against him, to retire for shelter under the guns of the castle. He next, took, and either sunk, or burned an hundred ships which were at anchor in the bay, and had on board a considerable quantity of ammunition, and naval stores. Amongst the greater vessels were a galleon of the burthen of twelve hundred tons, belonging to the marquis of Santa Croce, and a rich Ragusian merchantman, of the burthen of one thousand tons, and mounting forty brass cannon.

From the port of Cadiz, he proceeded, on the twenty-first, towards cape Saint Vincent, where he ransacked the dwellings of the chief inhabitants residing on the coast; took the castle, by assault; reduced three adjoining fortresses; and, after having set on fire, all the fishing boats, together with the nets, set sail for Cascais, situated at the mouth of the river Tagus. Here, he challenged the marquis of Santa Croce to an engagement; but that officer declined it, and tamely permitted Drake to lay the adjoining country waste, to pillage the naval armaments, and to destroy an hundred of the ships.

Merely to have conferred the most important services on the state of which he was a brave and active subject, was not sufficient in the opinion of the merchants, who, eager to reap a more substantial profit from their disbursements, complained that, too eager in the pursuit of martial glory, Sir Francis had neglected the less hazardous, but more advantageous opportunities of taking those trading vessels which were valuably laden. Resolved to free himself from this single imputation on his conduct, he instantly departed from Cascais, and steered his course for the Azores. Soon after-

afterwards, and near the island of Saint Michael, he was so fortunate as to intercept the Saint Philip, a large Spanish Carrack, returning, richly freighted, from the East Indies. The cargo of this prize, although of immense value, was of less consequence to the merchants than the papers which were found on board. From an inspection of the last, they acquired so perfect a knowledge of the exact prices of all the Indian articles of traffic, and of the best method of maintaining a commercial intercourse with the natives, that they soon afterwards, engaged largely in this particular branch of trade, and became established as a company of East-India merchants.

The destruction of the naval armaments at Cadiz, the total Loss of their provisions, and stores, the capture of the galleons, and the carrack, and the various damages which the Spaniards had sustained, reduced Philip to the necessity of deferring, all the succeeding year, the intended expedition against England; and also putting Elizabeth on her guard, afforded her sufficient leisure, and opportunities, to collect the proper means of defence against that formidable invasion. It must be allowed (to borrow the language of a discerning writer (q), that no expedition, undertaken throughout the whole course of the war, was more fortunately conducted, either with respect to reputation, or to profit, than that of which we are now treating; nor can it be deemed extraordinary if, at his return, Sir Francis appeared elated by the compliments which he received. It hath been remarked that his pride was happily directed, and always vented itself in acts of service to the public (r).

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(q) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 560.

(r) Ibid.—The particulars relating to the expedition to Cadiz are taken from Camden's annals, p. 353.—Hackluyt, V. 2.

We, next, observe this illustrious hero engaged in the cultivation of one of the most salutary arts of peace, and supplying the town of Plymouth with fresh water, the want of which had, until that period, proved a distressful circumstance to the inhabitants. This aqueduct was brought thither from springs which were distant, in a direct line nearly eight miles; but it forms a circuit of more than twenty miles, before it enters within the town (*s*).

Having already enquired into all the particulars respecting the defeat of the Armada, we need only refer the reader to the gallant conduct of Sir Francis Drake, at that celebrated period (*t*), and shall now treat of those circumstances connected with the expedition to Portugal.

Antonio, the prior of Crato, and a natural son of the royal family of Portugal, relying on that implacable hatred which his countrymen had conceived against the whole race of Castilians, had asserted his claim to the crown, and received some slight encouragement, in France, and England, from Henry and Elizabeth. For this pretender to sovereignty, the people of England, independent of the courtiers, who remained inactive on the occasion, had meditated a design to conquer Portugal. The commanders fixed upon were Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris. The charges of

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V. 2. Part II. p. 121.—Strype, V. 3. p. 451.—Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 169.—Stowe, p. 709.—Lediar'd naval history, folio, v. 1. p. 228.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 560.—Hume's history of England 8vo, v. 5. p. 327.

(*s*) Westcot's survey of Devonshire, MS.—Stowe's annals, p. 808.—Ridson's survey of Devonshire, v. 1. p. 69, 70.

(*t*) See the second volume of this work, from page 232, to page 305.

this enterprize, which was more remarkable as an instance of romantic bravery, than of discerning prudence, were chiefly defrayed by the principal adventurers. The queen, with her accustomed parsimony, took care to limit her contributions within the sum of sixty thousand pounds, and, having permitted six only of her ships to attend Sir Francis, gave orders that he, together with his associates, should be assisted in levying the proper number of mariners, and soldiers.

It may, in this place, be necessary to observe that the miscarriages of the enterprize were aggravated by the negligence of those powers who had promised to support it. Instead of twelve pieces of artillery, the stipulated number, only eight were sent; and of the English horses, there was a deficiency of six hundred. Seven veteran companies of soldiers from the Low-Countries, four from Holland, and six men of war in the service of that state, were kept back, contrary to agreement. Add to this, the great losses sustained both in money and provisions, whilst the ships lay wind-bound during a whole month, at Plymouth. The fleet, according to the account given by one historian (u), amounted to eighty sail of ships, on board of which were eleven thousand soldiers, and two thousand, and five hundred seamen. In the relation of a different writer (x), the total number of the vessels is one hundred, and forty-six, manned with fourteen thousand soldiers, and four thousand mariners. Of the last there appears to have been so few that we must naturally conclude that the vessels were either small, or not supplied with half the complement of necessary hands (y).

On

(u) Speed.

(x) Stowe.

(y) Sir William Monson hath mentioned, in particular, the following vessels, and officers.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. 131

On the eighteenth of April, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-nine, the fleet sailed from Plymouth, and, in few days afterwards, arrived at the Groyne. Here, some of the troops immediately disembarked, and attacking a party of the enemy, obliged them to retreat with considerable loss. On this occasion, the military operations were thus conducted:

Twelve hundred men landed from the pinnaces, and long-boats, and, marching towards the town, assailed it by a general discharge of the artillery. On the other side of the water, a body of five hundred soldiers, disembarked, and scaled the ramparts, whilst three hundred of the troops formed an attack, in a different quarter. All the forces charging together, the victory was gained with ease, and the affrighted citizens fled, through subterraneous passages, undiscovered by the enemy, into the upper town. The governor, Don Juan de Luna, and many officers of distinction were taken prisoners. The English, proceeding to those wild excesses of barbarity which, in that age, was one of the disgraceful consequences of success, slew five hundred of the inhabitants, after the place had been reduced, and the plunder surrendered quietly to the conquerors. What the arms of the

I 2

Spa-

SHIPS.	COMMAND. BY SEA.	COMM. BY LAND.
The Revenge	Sir Francis Drake	Sir John Norris.
Dreadnought	Capt. Tho. Fenner	Sir Edward Norris.
Aid	Wm. Fenner	Sir Henry Norris.
Nonpareil	— Sackville	Sir Roger Williams.
Forefight	Wm. Winter	Capt. Williams, (or Wilfon,) serjeant major.

Swiftsure

— Goring.

Spaniards were unable to effect, their wines accomplished; and multitudes of the English soldiers drank so freely of the liquors which they discovered in the cellars, that they perished through the violence of intoxication.

In the mean time, the Spaniards set fire to a large vessel which lay at anchor in the harbour, and which continued burning, during the space of two days. On board, were several great pieces of artillery, thirty-four of which burst, amidst the conflagration. The English next besieged the upper town, which was extremely difficult of access, and sprang two mines that made considerable breaches in the walls. They, now, began a close attack, and were on the point of succeeding in their operations, when, unfortunately, a tower fell, and crushed several of their associates. Dismayed by this unexpected accident, the survivors retreated with precipitation, and, having only three pieces of ordnance for their defence, were severely wounded, on their march through a narrow passage, by the continual discharges from the small arms of the enemy.

During the siege of the upper town, the English took possession of the cloister, on the south side, whilst colonel Huntley, and captain Sampson, with a strong detachment of the troops, ravaged the adjacent country, and returned with droves of cattle, and flocks of sheep.

On the day following the assault, the general, Sir John Norris, was informed by a Spaniard, who had been taken prisoner, that the Conde de Andrada, at the head of eight thousand troops, was assembled at Puente de Burgos, intended to advance to the relief of the Groyne, and would be shortly supported by a still greater number

ber of forces, under the command of the Conde de Altomira. Accordingly, on the sixth of May, Norris marched, with nine regiments, in order to intercept the enemy, and left the remaining five to attend on Sir Francis Drake, and guard the artillery, and the cloister. The English troops proceeded in three distinct bodies, and soon approached the Spaniards. After a furious contest, during which Sir Edward Norris, colonel Sidney, and the captains Middleton, Wingfield, Hinder, Fulford, and Barton, behaved with singular intrepidity, the enemy were totally defeated, and fled with such precipitation, that three thousand officers, and soldiers, were cut off in the pursuit. The English took the chief standard, and (what sullied the lustre of their victory,) slew two hundred of the Spaniards, near the cloisters, in cold blood, exclusive of those who had been massacred on the roads, and in the vineyards. Of their own men, but one was killed, and few were wounded.

Having plundered, and reduced to ashes the adjacent villages, together with the camp, in which they seized large quantities of ammunition, plate, and apparel, the English, on the eighth of May, set fire to the lower town, and cloister. This was the last hostility: they, now, raised the siege, and retreated to their ships.

From the Groyne, the fleet sailed towards the coast of Portugal, and, on the passage, were joined by the earl of Essex, a young hero of promising expectations, who, glowing with military ardour had stolen secretly, and without the knowledge of the queen, from England. With him, were vessels, equipped at his own expence, and commanded by his brother, Walter Devereux, Sir Roger Williams, Sir Philip Butler, and Sir

Edward Wingfield. These had cruized near the south cape, and taken some ships freighted with corn, which they brought into the fleet.

On the sixteenth the English arrived at Peniche, a small town of Portugal, where Sir John Norris, and the troops, immediately disembarked, and unresisted, obliged the castle to submit to Don Antonio. They, next, marched towards Lisbon, and, on the road, took the town, and citadel of Torre Vedra. From thence, they continued their progress, but were frequently interrupted by strong parties of the Spaniards, whom they engaged and conquered. Approaching Lisbon, on the twenty-fifth, they attacked, and without loss, reduced the suburbs of Saint Catherine. The people in this city appeared in general, averse from declaring for Antonio; the succours which that prince had been promised by the Emperor of Morocco were not arrived; the troops were infected with diseases; the artillery was insufficient for a vigorous attack, and the ammunition was expended. Under these alarming circumstances, the council of war resolved that the whole armament should retire. Accordingly, after a stay of two nights, at Lisbon, (during which time, the garrison, although reinforced by a body of troops, more numerous than their opponents, avoided an engagement,) the English retreated to Cascais, a small town, at the mouth of the river Tagus. By the plunder of the suburbs alone, they could have acquired a richer booty than any of their armies had ever taken; since, exclusive of the wealth which might have been discovered in private dwellings, the store-houses, near the water, were filled with valuable merchandize: but Antonio (who, it must be observed, was present, during every enterprize,) insisted that mercy, and indulgence, might be shewn to a people whom he
stiled

stiled his subjects, and thus, the adventurers who supported his cause, were deprived of the most solid advantages which could have resulted from their Success.

The fleet which had intercepted, and taken several Spanish vessels, and, in particular, fifteen which were bound to Lisbon, with forces, and provisions, had already arrived at Cascais, and reduced the place. The admiral (having blown up a port of the castle, and seized sixty sail of ships, belonging to the Hanse Towns, which, contrary to the prohibition of Elizabeth, were just arrived with corn, and naval stores, for the service of an armada which Philip was preparing against the English,) received the troops on board, and sailed homewards. The ships were scarcely under way, when twenty Spanish gallees rowed toward them, and began a furious attack, but were so powerfully resisted, that, after a short, and unequal contest, they hastily retreated.

Returning, the English reduced to ashes the town of Vigo, in Galicia, on the banks of a bay of the same name, and pillaged the adjacent country. They next arrived at Plymouth, in the beginning of July with an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, which had been taken from the enemy, and a large booty, of which a part was divided amongst the seamen.

The queen intended to have released the sixty vessels in the service of the Hanse Towns, and only to have confiscated their cargoes, but her resentment was increased by advices that an assembly was convened at Lubec, for the purpose of devising measures to annoy the English; and she immediately directed that all the ships should be detained, excepting two, which were permitted to return home, and inform the Hanse Towns of the misfortunes to which they had reduced themselves,

selves, by their interposition in favour of the Spaniards (x).

As the following reflections of a contemporary historian (a) will elucidate the foregoing relation of the enterprize, it may be proper to present them to the reader.

“ The last overthrow, given in the year, one thousand, five hundred and eighty eight, to the Invincible fleet, (as they termed themselves) did so encourage every man to war, that happy was he who could put himself in action against the Spaniards, as it appeared by the volunteers, that went on this voyage. Considering the great loss which the king of Spain had received, in the preceding year, whereby it was to be imagined how weakly he was provided for at home, the queen became willing to countenance this action, although she undertook it not wholly of herself, to which is to be imputed the overthrow of it.

“ For whosoever he be of a subject, that thinks to undertake so great an enterprize, without a prince’s purse, shall be deceived; and therefore these two generals, in my opinion, never over-shot themselves more, than in undertaking so great a charge, with so little means, which is the only cause to which is to be imputed the ill success of it; for, where victuals, and arms are wanting, what hope, is there of prevailing?

“ The

(x) The particulars relating to the expedition to Portugal are taken from Camden’s *Annals*, p. 601, 606.—Sir William Monson’s *naval Tracts*, p. 174.—Campbell’s *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 561, 562.—Lediard’s *naval History*, Folio, V. 1. p. 264, 267.—Birch’s *Memoirs*, V. 1. p. 58.—MS. in Bibl. Cott.—Hackluyt, V. 2. Part II. p. 134.—Purchas, V. 4. p. 1914.—Appendix to Harris’s *Columna Rostrata*.

(a) Sir William Monson.

“ The project of this voyage was to restore a distressed king to his dominions, which (as he pretended,) were usurped ; and although the means for the setting forth of this voyage were not so great as was expedient ; yet, in the opinion of all men, if they had directed their course, whither they intended it, without landing at the Groyne, they had performed the service for which they went, restored Don Antonio to the crown, dissevered Portugal from Spain, and united it in league with England, which would have answered the present charge, and have settled a continual trade for us to the West Indies, and the rest of the Portugal dominions ; for so we might have conditioned.

“ But, as I have said, the landing at the Groyne was a lingering of the other design ; a consumption of victuals ; a weakening of the armies by the immoderate drinking of the soldiers, which brought a lamentable sickness amongst them ; a warning to the Spaniards to strengthen Portugal, and, what was more than all this, a discouragement to proceed farther, being repulsed in the first attempt.

“ Notwithstanding this ill success, at the Groyne, they departed from thence towards Portugal, and arrived at Penicha, a maritime town, twelve leagues from Lisbon, where, with small resistance, they took the castle, after the captain understood Don Antonio to be in the army.

“ From thence, general Norris marched with his land forces to Lisbon, and Sir Francis Drake, with his fleet, sailed to Cascais, promising from thence to pass with his ships up the river to Lisbon, to meet with Sir John Norris, which he did not, and therefore he was much blamed by the common consent of all men, who imputed the overthrow of the action to him,

“ I will

" I will not excuse Sir Francis Drake, in his promise made to Sir John Norris, although I would utterly have accused him of want of discretion, if he had put the fleet to so great an adventure, to so little purpose; for his being in the harbour of Lisbon, was nothing to the reduction of the castle, which was two miles from thence; and had the castle been taken, the town would have submitted, of course.

" And, moreover, the ships could not furnish the army, with more men, or victuals than they had; wherefore I understand not wherein his going up was necessary; and yet the fleet was to endure many hazards to this little purpose.

" For, betwixt Cascais, and Lisbon, there are three castles, Saint Julian, Saint Francis, and Bellem. The first of the three, I hold one of the most impregnable forts, to seaward, in Europe, and, by this, the fleet was to pass, within caliver-shot; yet I confess the greatest danger was not the passing it; for with a reasonable gale of wind, any fort is to be passed, with small hazard.

" But at this time, there was a general want of victuals, and, being entered the harbour, their coming out again was uncertain, the place being subject to contrary winds, in which space of time, the better part of the victuals would have been consumed, and they would have remained there in so desperate a state, that they would have been forced to have fired one half of the fleet for the bringing home of the rest; for, being as they were, after the army was embarked for England, numbers died of famine homeward, and more would have done so, if the wind had taken them short, or, if, by the deaths of others, they had not been relieved.

" And,

“ And, exclusive of all these casualties, and dangers, the *Adalantado* was then in Lisbon, with the gallies of Spain, and how easily he might have annoyed our fleet, by towing fire-ships amongst us, we may suppose, by the hurt which we did the Spaniards, on the preceding year, in Calais road, and greater we had done, if we had had the help of gallies.

“ It is a wonder to observe every man's opinion of this voyage, as well those that were actors in it, as others that stayed at home; some imputing the overthrow of it to the landing at the Groyne; others to the Portuguese, failing of their help, and assistance, as was promised by Don Antonio; and some to Sir Francis Drake, who did not come up the river with his fleet.

“ Although any of these three might seem probable reasons to many men, that shall but hear them, and the landing at the Groyne, the chiefest of the three alleged; yet, weighing truly the defect, and where it was, it will appear, that the action was overthrown before their departure from home, they being too weakly provided with things needful for so great an expedition.

“ For when this voyage was first in debate, the number of ships was not concluded on, according to the proportion of men, wherefore they were forced to detain divers *Fasterlings*, which they met with in our channel, and compelled them to serve in this action, for the transportation of our soldiers; and although these ships were an ease to our men, which would otherwise have been much pestered for want of room, yet their victuals were nothing augmented; but they were put on board the ships, like banished men, to seek their fortunes, at sea; for, by

“ con-

" confession, divers of the ships had not four days
 " victuals; when they departed from Plymouth.

" Another impediment to this voyage was the want
 " of field-pieces; and hence ensued the loss of Lis-
 " bon; for, as the strength consisted in the castle, and
 " we had only an army to countenance us, but no
 " means for battery, we were the loss of the victory
 " ourselves; and it was apparent, by the intelligence
 " which we received, that if we had presented them
 " with battery, they were resolved to parly, and so,
 " by consequence, to yield; and this was the main
 " reason for the excuse made by the Portuguese for not
 " joining with us.

" There is one reason to be alleged on the behalf
 " of the Portuguese, and their love, and favour to our
 " proceedings; for although they shewed not them-
 " selves forward, upon the occasion aforesaid, in aid-
 " ing us, yet they opposed not themselves as ene-
 " mies against us; for, if they had pursued us, in our
 " retreat from Lisbon, to Cascajs, our men being weak,
 " sickly, without powder, and shot, and other arms,
 " they had put us to a greater loss, and disgrace
 " than we sustained: And if ever England should have
 " occasion to set up a competitor in Portugal, our car-
 " riage, and good treatment of the people of that
 " country must secure to us a great influence amongst
 " them: For the general most advisedly forbade the
 " rifting of their houses, in the country, and sub-
 " urbs of Lisbon, which they possessed, and command-
 " ed royal payment for every thing which they took,
 " without compulsion, or rigorous usage. This hath
 " made those, who stood but indifferently affected
 " before, now ready, upon the like occasion, to as-
 " sist us.

Towards

Towards the close of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-four, a report was circulated, throughout Europe, that the king of Spain had issued orders for the equipment of a fleet still more powerful, and numerous than the Invincible Armada, and that its operation were to be directed against the English. Elizabeth, conscious that she had no security but in immediate preparations for defence, drew together twenty-six of the chief vessels in her navy, and dividing them into two squadrons appointed one to cruize in the British channel, and the other to act, under the command of Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins, against the Spaniards, in America. Exclusive of the royal ships, twenty were fitted out at the joint expence of these gallant officers, and some opulent adventurers in the enterprize (b).

These armaments, although speedily equipped, had not failed in the month of July, when Diego Brochen, the commander in chief of four Spanish gallies, landed, without interruption, at Mounts-Bay, in Cornwall, and reduced to ashes House-Hole, Newlin, Penzance, and a neighbouring church, but did not either kill, or force

(b) Sir William Monson makes mention of the following vessels, and their officers.

SHIPS.	COMMAND. by SEA.	COMM. by LAND.
The Defiance	Sir Francis Drake	Sir Thomas Baskerville.
Garland	Sir John Hawkins.	
Hope	Captain Gilbert Yorke.	
Bonaventure	Captain Throughton.	
Forefight	Captain Winter.	
Adventure	Captain Thomas Drake.	

From the author of Drake Revived, we may add that Sir Nicholas Clifford was lieutenant-general, and that eight captains were appointed for the land-service, exclusive of Arnold Baskerville, serjeant major, and Nicholas Baskerville.

force on board their vessels, any of the inhabitants.

The destination of the fleet, and land forces, under Drake, Hawkins, and Baskerville, was for Saint Juan de Puerto Ricco, in the isle of Boriquena, at which place, a large treasure had been deposited for the use of the king of Spain. Informed of this event, Elizabeth prudently countermanded the first order, that the ships should sail to Nombre de Dios, from whence the troops were to have marched to Panama, for the purpose of intercepting the expresses from Peru.

On the twenty-eighth of August, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-five, the English set sail from Plymouth, but did not lose sight of land, until the thirty-first. Their next port was the Grand Canary, where they arrived on the twenty-seventh of September. Contrary to the advice of Hawkins, it was proposed by Drake, and Baskerville, to attack the island, and chiefly with a view of obtaining fresh provisions, the great scarcity of which had occasioned a violent discontent amongst the seamen. After a long, and ineffectual attempt, they judged it prudent to desist from an engagement, during which the Spaniards preserved a manifest, and unexpected superiority. They, now, proceeded towards the island of Dominica, and having reached it, on the twenty-ninth of October, commenced a traffic, with the natives, for tobacco. To their imprudence in remaining too long at this place, engaged in constructing pinnaces, may be attributed their subsequent disappointments, and the timely knowledge which the Spaniards had gained of their intentions.

A small squadron of observation, in the service of the enemy, had been dispatched from Puerto Ricco, and was so fortunate as to intercept an English pinnace, which had strayed to a considerable distance from the fleet.

fleet. The crew, who were put to the torture, made a full confession of the designs of Drake, and his associates; and the Spaniards hastened instantly to inform their fellow-subjects of the approaching danger. The gold, silver, and other valuable treasures, at Puerto Ricco, were concealed, by the inhabitants, in subterraneous places; light frigates were sent to alarm all the dependant islands, and the adjoining coasts; whilst every warlike preparation was made for the most vigorous, and effectual defence.

On the twelfth of November, the English fleet came to an anchor, within cannon-shot of the forts erected at Puerto Ricco, and were immediately assailed by a furious discharge from the artillery of the Spaniards. At the beginning of the attack, Sir Nicholas Clifford, and captain Brute Brown, received, each, a mortal wound, in consequence of which, they expired on the day following. Their deaths were succeeded by that of Sir John Hawkins, less a martyr to a fit of sickness under which he had languished, for some time, than to the agonies of grief.

At the mouth of the haven, was sunk a large vessel, for the purpose of preventing the entrance of the English; and, on each side, long masts were placed, as obstructions, and extended to the forts. Five Spanish ships, ballasted with sand, and mounting two tiers of cannon, were drawn up in line of battle. Not intimidated by the appearance of those armed multitudes which were on board, Sir Thomas Baskerville, attended by the troops, in twenty-five boats, and pinnaces, entered the road, beyond the castles (c), where, exposed to an incessant cannonading, together with a discharge of small arms, during the whole action, from the enemy, he set fire to the five vessels, four
of

of which were of the burthen of two hundred tons, and the other (the rear-admiral,) of twice the size. On board of each were twenty brass guns, and a hundred barrels of powder. The freight, consisting, chiefly, of silk, oil, and wine, had been previously secured, with the treasure, brought from Vigonia, and valued (according to the report of a prisoner,) at three millions of ducats, or thirty-five tons of silver. On the side of the Spaniards, the loss was very great; and, amongst these, numbers were either burned, or drowned. Although the action had proved less fatal to the English, yet their forces were considerably diminished; and the commanders, sensible that no material advantage could be gained, judged it prudent to depart.

Reimbarking, they sailed over to Terra Firma, and, arriving on the first of December, at La Hacha, reduced the place to ashes, notwithstanding that the inhabitants were prepared to ransom it with thirty thousand ducats. The English next set fire to La Rancheria, after having taken prisoners several negroes, and other natives. Possessed of some large pearls, and many valuable articles, the plunder of the place, they sailed, with their prize, a Spanish brigantine, to the small villages in the neighbourhood, and burned them to the ground. They, now, proceeded to Nombre de Dios (*d*), of which they soon became the masters, and totally destroyed it, with every vessel in the harbour. They were not so fortunate as to discover any money, within the town; but at the watch-tower, on the summit of an adjoining hill, they seized twenty sows (*e*) of silver, two bars of gold, several pearls, coins, and various articles of merchandize.

From

(*d*) December 19th.

(*e*) Each amounting to about one hundred weight.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. 145

From Nombre de Dios, Sir Thomas Baskerville march-
ed, at the head of seven hundred and fifty men, towards
Panama. As they approached nearer to the place,
they observed that all the passes had been fortified; a
circumstance which induced them to suspect that the
Spaniards were prepared for an attack. Of this, they
were soon convinced, by a furious and well-directed
discharge of small arms, from some troops in the ad-
joining wood. They, now, found that every defile
was encompassed by the Spaniards; at each turning a
fortress appeared in view, from whence the soldiers
rushed forth in multitudes, and harrassed their inva-
ders by continual skirmishes. Obstacles so insurmount-
able obliged the English to return, and on the second
of January, they, with difficulty, rejoined the fleet.

These disappointments proved fatally afflicting to
Sir Francis Drake, who, accustomed to victory, was
unable to support the loss of it; and, yielding to the
dejection of his mind, contracted a nervous fever;
which deprived him of life, at the age of fifty-one;
and on the twenty eighth of January, in the year, one
thousand, five hundred, and ninety-five. Such was
the end of this illustrious hero, whose memory (to
borrow the expression of a naval historian (f);) will
survive as long as the duration of that world which
he first surrounded (g).

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The

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 563.

(g) The particulars relating to this last expedition are
taken from the history of a voyage into the West-Indies,
made by Sir Francis Drake, &c. &c. London, 1652. Quar-
to.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 583.—Camden's Annals, p. 700.
—Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. Folio. p. 309.—Camp-
bell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 562, 563.—Englist
Hero, p. 206.—Roberti Johnstoni Rerum Britannicarum
Historia, Lib. 8. p. 208.—Purchas, V. 4. p. 582.—Sir
William Monson's Tracts.—Drake Revived.

The characters of individuals are, with few exceptions, the most accurately traced in the writings of discerning, and unprejudiced contemporaries. To these, therefore, we shall apply; and, next, present the reader with observations of a later date.

The following is a parallel between Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins. The author of it (A) had the honour of serving under both commanders.

" They were alike given to travelling, in their youth, and in their more mature years. They both attempted many honourable voyages; as, that of Sir John Hawkins, to Guinea, to the isles of America, and to Saint Juan de Ullua: So likewise, Sir Francis Drake, after many discoveries in the West-Indies, and other parts, was the first Englishman that ever compassed the globe, in which, as well as in his great knowledge in sea-affairs, he far exceeded not only Sir John Hawkins, but all others. In their natures, and dispositions, they differed as much, as in their management in war. Sir Francis was of a lively spirit; resolute, quick, and sufficiently valiant; Sir John was slow, jealous, and difficult to be brought to a resolution. In council, Sir John Hawkins did often differ from the judgment of others, making a shew, in difficult cases, of knowing more than he would declare. Sir Francis was a willing hearer of the opinion of every man, but, commonly, a follower of his own. He never attempted any action, wherein he was an absolute commander, but he performed it with great reputation, and could go through the weightiest concerns, with wonderful ease. On the contrary, Sir John Hawkins

" was

(A) See the letter signed R. M. in Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 582.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. 147

"was an undertaker of great things; but, for the
 "most part, without fortune, or success. Sir John
 "Hawkins naturally hated land soldiers, and, al-
 "though he was very popular, affected to keep com-
 "pany with common people, rather than his equals.
 "Sir Francis, on the contrary, loved the land-sol-
 "diers, always encouraged, and preferred merit, where-
 "soever he found it, and was affable, and of easy ac-
 "cess. They had both many virtues, and agreed in
 "some; as in patience in enduring labours, and
 "hardships; observation, and remembrance of
 "things past; and great discretion in sudden dan-
 "gers. In other virtues, they differed: Sir John
 "Hawkins was merciful, apt to forgive, and faithful
 "to his word; Sir Francis Drake hard to be recon-
 "ciled; but constant in friendship; and withal, at the
 "same time, severe, and courteous; magnanimous
 "and liberal. They were both ambitious to a
 "fault; but one more than the other; for, Sir Fran-
 "cis had an insatiable thirst after honour, beyond all
 "reason. He was full of promises, and more temper-
 "ate in adversity, than in prosperity (i). He had
 "likewise some other imperfections; as quickness to
 "anger; bitterness in disgracing; and was too much
 "pleased with sordid flattery. Sir John Hawkins had
 "malice, with dissimulation; rudeness in behaviour;
 "and was covetous in the last degree. They were
 "both alike happy in being great commanders, but
 "not equally successful. They both grew famous by
 "the same means, that is, by their own virtues, cou-
 "rage, and the fortune of the sea. There was no
 "comparison, however, between their merits, taken in
 "general, for, therein Sir Francis far exceeded."

K 2

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(i) The despondency which preceded his death but ill agrees with this assertion.

The succeeding character of our illustrious adventurer was drawn by a distinguished writer (*k*), whose applause appears of some weight, as being mixed with censure.

"I have laboured, in all my relation, to walk up-
rightly, and with integrity, neither swaying to the
one hand, nor bending to the other; I have endeavoured to carry my intentions so equally, as not to
deserve blame for too much commending, nor re-
proof, for detracting more than truth leads me; and
as I have begun so indifferently, so will I continue
as sincerely, and say something of this noble gentleman, Sir Francis Drake."

"There is no man so perfect, but is fit to be amended; nor none so evil, but he has something in him
to be praised. Comparing the imperfections of Sir
Francis Drake, with his perfections, the world, and
not I, shall truly judge of his merits."

"His detractors lay to his charge the baseness of
his birth; and education; his ostentation, and vain-
glorious boasting; his high, haughty, and insolent
carriage; and they except against his sufficiency
for a general, although they allow him to be an
able captain."

"His friends, and favourers answer, in his behalf,
that the meanness of his birth was an argument of
his worth; for, what he attained to, was by no other
means than his merit. They say, that every man
is son to his works; and what one hath by his an-
cestors can scarcely be called his own; that virtue
is the cause of preferment, and honour but the ef-
fect; that a man is more to be esteemed for being
virtuous, than being called worshipful; the one is a
title of honour, the other of desert."

"Marius,

(*k*) Sir William Monson.

"Marius, being upbraided by Sylla, in the like manner, for the baseness of his birth, and the haughtiness of his carriage, answered; that he was not of so great a family as Sylla, yet Sylla could not deny but that he was the better man; for, in Sylla's house were painted the acts of his fore-fathers; but in his, were hung up the banners, that he himself had won from his enemy."

"In vindication of the pride of Sir Francis Drake, they say that it was not inherent to him alone, but to most men of his profession, and rank. It is true, that he would speak much, and arrogantly, but eloquently, which bred a wonder in many, that his education could yield him those helps of nature. Indeed, he had four properties to further his gift of speaking; his boldness of speech, his understanding in what he spoke, his inclination to speak, and his use in speaking; and although vain-glory is a vice not to be excused, yet he obtained that fame, by his actions; that facility, in speaking; and that wisdom, by his experience, that I can say no more, but that we are all the children of Adam."

"His friends go farther, and observe that his haughtiness, and high carriage is somewhat excusable, when it appears not but in his command; for a general ought to be stern towards his soldiers; courageous, in his person, valiant in fight, generous in giving, patient in suffering, and merciful in pardoning: and, if Sir Francis Drake was to be praised for most of these virtues, let him not be blamed, or condemned for one only vice. Many times, where a man seeks obedience, it is imputed to his pride, and high carriage; but if hatred grew upon envy, (as it is likely,) it appeared greater than if it had been grounded upon injury."

“ The exceptions against him, by those, that
“ condemned him as an ill general, are, his neglect of
“ furnishing his fleet to the Indies, in the year, one
“ thousand, five hundred, and eighty five ; his not
“ keeping Santo Domingo, and Carthagena, when he
“ was possessed of them, in that voyage ; his weak pre-
“ paration for such an expedition as that to Portugal ;
“ his promise to go up to Lisbon, that voyage, and his
“ non-performance ; and the seizure of the pinnace,
“ in his way to the Indies, which discovered his di-
“ rections in the year, one thousand, five hundred,
“ and ninety-five. Without entering into these par-
“ ticulars, here, I shall speak of him, as a private cap-
“ tain, and especially, of his renowned voyage about
“ the world, being the first attempt of that nature,
“ that ever was performed by any nation, except the
“ Spaniards themselves, (and they only with Magel-
“ lan, and his company.) It was the more honour to
“ him, in that the streight of Magellan was counted
“ so terrible in those days, that the very thoughts of
“ attempting it was dreadful ; secondly, in that it had
“ been but once passed, and but by one ship that ever
“ returned into Europe ; and that above sixty-nine
“ years previous to his enterprize. His praise was that
“ he could carry a voluntary action so discreetly, so
“ patiently, and so resolutely, in so tedious, and un-
“ known a navigation, the condition of seamen being
“ apt to repine and murmur. But, lastly, and princi-
“ pally, that after so many miseries, and extremities
“ which he endured, and almost two years spent in
“ unpracticed seas, when reason would have warned
“ him to seek home, for his rest, he left his known
“ course, and ventured upon an unknown sea, in for-
“ ty-eight degrees ; which sea, or passage, we know
“ had been often attempted, but never discovered.”

“ This

"This enterprize alone must silence all his detractors. It shewed an extraordinary resolution ; a desire to enrich, and benefit his country ; and a singular patience to endure the disasters, and mishaps to which he, and his associates were exposed."

"Yet he must not go so clear without stain, or blemish. It should be known, that although he deserved well in the direction, and carriage of his journey, yet the ground of this expedition was unjust."

"No man had more experience of the inconstancy of fortune than Sir Francis. The nature of fortune is to bite, when she flatters, and to strike when she is angry."

"What his birth and other deserts were, needs no reiteration. Fortune did much for him ; but, at his death, she was incensed against him ; first, in that there was a doubt whether it was natural ; secondly, (and the best that his friends can say, is that it was caused by grief,) for failing of his expectation in that voyage ; thirdly, notwithstanding his meritorious services, his heir was prosecuted, and perplexed for debts, and accounts to the crown ; and lastly, he died, like Pizarro and Almagro, without a child to succeed him, and perpetuate his memory."

Were it possible to set aside those wanton excesses of barbarity by which the heroes of that age so frequently disgraced their conquests, we might assent to the opinion of a discerning writer (*1*), and allow that the sole actions of his life which exposed him to a just, and heavy censure, was the unrelenting severity with which Sir Francis Drake enforced the execution of an active,

(1) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 565.

active, brave, and skilful officer. This unhappy victim (of the name of Doughty, and second in command,) stood charged with having endeavoured to excite a mutiny in the fleet, and concerted measures for the destruction of the admiral. The natural turbulence of his temper appeared to give some colour to the accusation; but, if we can trust the evidence of history, his guilt was ascertained by testimonies which could not be disputed; his private papers, and his own confession (*m*). During his trial, more than forty of the chief persons on board of the fleet sat as jurymen, and, by their verdict, declared him to be guilty. Although cast for death, he received the liberty of chusing, out of three situations, one to which it was necessary that he should be reduced; and, if he had felt an inclination to evade the execution of the sentence, he might have been either separated from his associates, and left at port Saint Julian, or sent to England, not to suffer immediately on his arrival, but to enjoy the benefit of a second trial. His option was instant death, and, in consequence of it, he was directed to prepare for a submission to his fate.

Thus far the conduct of Sir Francis Drake seems not deserving of reproach; but by what arguments shall we vindicate the barbarous profligacy of that man, who having made himself the active instrument to bring the criminal to justice for those injuries which he had received from him, could withhold a pardon (which as a judge and chief commander, he had the full power of granting,) in the moment after he had partaken with him of that sacrament which was instituted by the saviour who directs us to forgive, as we expect

(*m*) Life of Sir Francis Drake, in Winstanley's English Worthies.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 733.—Winter's Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, p. 752.

expect to be forgiven? Occasions have arisen to justify an adherence to strict discipline, and the severity of the law; yet it is needless to observe that both should be removed whensoever the prosecutor, who is invested with the power of punishing, becomes the partner of the offender in the performance of those ceremonies, one great foundation of which is the hope of mercy, in return for mercy (n).

It may be necessary to observe that the enemies of Sir Francis had insinuated that Doughty was sent, on this enterprize, purposely that he might be deprived of Life, as a punishment for his presumption in hav-
ing

(n) On the morning which preceded his execution, Doughty received the sacrament with Drake, and other officers belonging to the fleet. He, next, dined with them, at the same table, and, in the midst of convivial cheerfulness, after, having drunk to the prosperity, and health of every person present, rose, and with equal fortitude, and submission, proceeded to the place of execution, where, at one blow, his head was severed from his body. There is something shocking in the idea, that almost in the very hour of punishment, prosecutors, evidences, judges, and the criminal should mix together at a social entertainment. It is at least sufficient to justify the current report that he was cut off by Drake, as being the emulator of his glory. Humanity was not the prevailing characteristic of this celebrated adventurer: yet cruelties appear to have been countenanced by the practice of the times; and the advocates of Sir Francis were accustomed to extol his lenity, because, during his voyage round the world, he had only put Doughty to death: abandoned a Portuguese (whom he had taken under his protection, near the coast of Africa,) to the vengeance of the Spaniards, at Aguatulco; and left a female negro alone on a deserted island, after she had become pregnant in consequence of an intercourse with one of his associates. This unhappy woman had been presented to him, by a Spaniard, in return for the preservation of his ship.

ing charged the earl of Leicester, with the murder of the earl of Essex, whose death was the effect of poison. The abandoned disposition of Leicester might have given an air of probability to any suggestion, in a case where he only was concerned (o) ; but it is more than difficult to suppose that Drake was not too brave, and open in his temper, to assume the office of a designing ruffian ; nor could he, without having been lost to every sense of gratitude, and honour, so far forget his obligations to the earl of Essex, the first, and most liberal of all his patrons, as to become an accessory to the destruction of Doughty, merely because he had endeavoured to bring to justice the murderer of that unfortunate, and injured lord. We shall conclude this memoir with some miserably-composed, and (let us hope,) ill-grounded stanzas relating to this affair. They have already been introduced by a naval writer (p), from a book (q) which he calls the fullest account of the matter that hath fallen within his knowledge ; and he adds that it contains much true history, although, there may be ample reasons to imagine that it is interspersed with falsities.

“ I doubted

(o) The poisoning of Essex was the more generally attributed to Leicester, because the latter married Lettice, (the daughter of Sir Francis Knolles, and the widow of the former, soon after the decease of her husband. She was suspected of a criminal familiarity with Leicester, during the life-time of her first lord. See, “*Reporte of the Deathe of the Earle of Essex,*” in Hearne’s Preface to “*Camdeni Elizabetha,*” Sect. 16.—Hemings Chartular. Eccles. Wigorn.—Winstanley’s English Worthies, in the life of Sir Francis Drake.

(p) Campbell’s Lives of the Admirals. V. 1. p. 566.

(q) Leicester’s Ghost (a Poem written by father Parsons, chiefly from Leicester’s Commonwealth.) Quarto. 1641.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. 155

" I doubted lest that Doughty would bewray
 " My counsel, and with other party take ;
 " Wherefore, the sooner him to rid away,
 " I sent him forth to sea, with captain Drake,
 " Who knew how t'entertaine him for my sake.
 " Before he went, his lot by me was caste,
 " His death was plotted, and performed in haste.

" He hoped well ; but I did so dispose
 " That he at Port Saint Gillian lost his head ;
 " Having no time permitted to disclose
 " The inward griefs that in his heart were bred.
 " We need not fear the biting of the dead.
 " Now let him go, transported to the seas,
 " And tell my secrets to th' Antipodes" (r).

(r) The arms of Sir Francis Drake were, sable, a fess wavy, between two pole-stars, argent ; and the crest, a ship on a globe, under ruff, the cable of it holden by a hand issuing from the clouds. Above was the following motto, *AUXILIO DIVINO* ; and underneath, *SIC PARVIS MAGNA*. To the rigging was affixed, by the talons, a Wyverne, gules. This last was the paternal coat of Sir Bernard Drake, a brave, and enterprizing seaman, whose arms Sir Francis had formerly assumed, and from whom, he on that account had received a severe blow on the face. The queen took up the quarrel, forbad the parties to shew any farther resentment, and gave to Sir Francis Drake those arms which have been already mentioned. By the Wyverne hanging in the shrouds, Elizabeth seems to have insinuated her contempt for Sir Bernard.—Prince's worthies of Devonshire. (To this author the preceding story was communicated by Sir Robert Drake, Baronet, a direct descendant from Sir Bernard.)—The glory of generosity, by John Ferne. London, 1586. Quarto. p. 144, 145.

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M E M O I R S

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Sir JOHN HAWKINS.

THIS celebrated seaman (descended from a reputable family, and born at Plymouth, in the county of Devon,) was the son of William Hawkins, by Joan, the daughter of William Trelawny, a gentleman possessed of a considerable estate in Cornwall. The Parents of our adventurer, pleased with his early passion for naval knowledge, and the study of the mathematics, were careful that he should be instructed, not only in the theory of these sciences, but of all which could enable him to shine, with distinguished lustre, at the future periods of his life. These accomplishments were soon reduced to practice, and previous to his twentieth year, he had sailed to Spain, to Portugal, and the Canaries. During that *Æra*, such enterprizes were deemed extraordinary; and, as few adventurers had undertaken them, the maritime, and commercial abilities of Hawkins secured

to

to him a decided superiority over the generality of his contemporaries (a).

The particular circumstances relating to these expeditions are not mentioned by historians; nor is there extant a minute detail of the adventures of William Hawkins, the father, a naval officer of great abilities, and experience, esteemed by Elizabeth, endeared to his fellow-subjects, and (at a period when an eagerness to acquire fame by maritime exploits was one of the ruling passions of the people,) particularly respected, as the first Englishman who had made a voyage to the Brazils (b).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-two, the gallant officer who is the subject of this memoir, having acquired, during his residence at the Canaries, an extensive knowledge of the slave-trade, and being much allured by the prospect of those pecuniary advantages which resulted from the sale of negroes, in the West-Indies, applied, for assistance in the enterprize, to the chief merchants of the port of London. Amongst these, were Mr. Gunson, his father in law, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, and Mr. Bromfield, who immediately contributing the necessary sums, directed our adventurer to equip such vessels as might be proper for the voyage (c).

In the Autumn of the same year, the preparations were concluded, and Hawkins departed, instantly, with three

(a) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.—Prince's Worthies of Devonshire, p. 389.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 534.

(b) Hackluyt, V. 2. p. 520.

(c) Purchas's Pilgrinis, V. 4. p. 1179.

three Ships (*d*), for Teneriff, where he arrived, towards the middle of October, and obtained a fresh supply of water, and provisions. From this island, he sailed to Sierra Leona (*e*), on the coast of Guinea, where, remaining during some time, he acquired, partly, by force of arms, and, partly, by purchase, three hundred slaves, and such valuable commodities as were the produce of the country.

From Sierra Leona, he steered his course towards port Isabella, in the island of Hispaniola, in the west Indies. Here, he disposed advantageously of several of the negroes, and some articles of merchandize. His next port was Puerto de Plata, where he traded as at the former place; but with great circumspection, lest the Spaniards, who secretly meditated the destruction of the English, should rise, and execute their purposes. He, next, sailed to Monte Christi, another harbour on the northern side of Hispaniola, where he was suffered to trade peaceably with the natives, and had the good fortune to sell the remaining number of his negroes.

Successful, even beyond his sanguine expectations, he not only laded his own ships with Quantities of pearls, hides, ginger, sugar, and other articles; but dispatched for Spain two hulks, consigned to merchants, and richly freighted with the various commodities of the country adjoining to Monte Christi. Having thus happily concluded his commercial intercourse,

(*d*) These were the Solomon, (John Hawkins, admiral,) of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons; the Swallow, (Thomas Hampton, captain,) of the burthen of one hundred tons; and the Jonas, a bark of the burthen of forty tons. The total number of men amounted only to one hundred.

(*e*) Called by the natives, Tagarin.

he, without proceeding farther within the bay, returned by the islands of Caycos, and, towards the conclusion of the month of September, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-three, arrived in England (f).

On his succeeding expedition, this spirited adventurer was furnished with two ships, and two barks. These were the *Jesus*, of Lubec, of the burthen of seven hundred tons; the *Solomon*, of the burthen of one hundred, and forty tons; the *Tyger*, of the burthen of fifty tons; and the *Swallow*, of the burthen of thirty tons. With this Squadron, he departed from Plymouth, on the eighteenth of October (g), and, at the distance of nearly ten leagues from the harbour, fell in with two ships; (on their passage to Guinea,) the *Minion*, belonging to the royal navy, and commanded by David Carlot; and the *John Baptist*, equipped by the port of London. This last vessel sailed afterwards in company with *Hawkins*; but the *Minion* proceeded in search of the *Merlin*, another ship, from which she had separated some days before.

On the twenty-first a violent storm arose, during which the *Jesus*, the *Solomon*, and the *Tyger*, received considerable damage, and were parted from the *John Baptist*, and the *Swallow*. These, on the twenty-third, rejoined the fleet, at the of distance about ten leagues from Cape Finisterre.

On the twenty-seventh, and whilst the wind continued unfavourable, the English entered the port of Ferrol in Galicia, where they remained, during five days. On the twenty-eighth, they were joined by the

(f) Hackluyt's voyages, v. 3. p. 500.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 535.—Lediard's naval history, v. 1. p. 141.

(g) A. D. 1564.

the *Minion*, the captain of which related the melancholy catastrophe which befel the crew, belonging to the *Merlin*. This vessel took fire, and blew up. Soon afterwards, her hulk sunk to the bottom of the ocean. A small number of the mariners were taken up by the boat which captain Carlot had sent to their assistance. These were miserably scorched; the rest either perished amidst the waves, or were burned to death.

On the thirtieth, the ships renewed their course; on the fourth of November, they descried the island of Madeira; and, on the sixth, arrived at Teneriff. Having remained here, during a fortnight, they set sail, and, on the twenty-fifth reached Cape Blanco, on the coast of Africa. Waiting only to obtain fresh water, fish, and other provisions, they soon proceeded on their voyage, and, after a passage of four days, arrived at Cape de Verd, in the latitude of fourteen degrees, and a half, on the twenty-ninth of the same month. At this place it was the design of Hawkins to seize upon several negroes, by force of arms; but the crew belonging to the *Minion*, either purposely, or through inadvertence, had warned these wretched victims to the tyranny of their fellow creatures to secure themselves from the impending danger; and they preserved their liberty by flying to the recesses of the woods.

Thus baffled in his views, our adventurer proceeded on his course (A), and soon (i) reached the island of Alcatrazsa, where the *Jesus* and the *Solomon* cast anchor, whilst the two barks sailed immediately to the island of La Formio, at which an armed body of eighty men disembarked, and pursued a multitude of negroes, who ran with such swiftness, that the English, in despair gave up the chase, and returned on board.

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On

(h) December 7th.

(i) December 8th.

On the fourteenth, they arrived at the island of Sambula, and, remaining there during several days, were employed either in seizing the inhabitants, or plundering, and setting fire to the towns. On the twenty-first, having secured the slaves on board, and obtained great quantities of provisions, they renewed their course, and, on the day following, entered the river of Calloufa, at the mouth of which the two ships dropped anchor, whilst the *Eyger*, and the *Swallow*, accompanied by the pinnace of the *John Baptist*, and the boat belonging to the *Solomon*, proceeded up the river, and, soon afterwards, returned with two caravels, deeply laden with slaves.

On the twenty-seventh, having received information from the Portuguese, that the neighbouring town of Bymba abounded with gold, and was filled with negroes, the English disembarked, and, in armed bodies, marched forwards to reduce it. Instigated by avarice, they neglected the means of preservation; and, dividing themselves into small parties, for the purpose of securing a larger portion of the plunder, they became exposed to a more violent resistance from the negroes, who lost only ten of their associates, nor retreated into the town until they had wounded twenty-seven of the English, and killed Mr. Field, (the commander of the *Solomon*), and six of his Companions. This calamity was rendered more afflicting to the survivors, by an event not less distressful: on the day following, four men were devoured, and a fifth was miserably torn, in several parts of his body, by the Sharks.

At the conclusion of the month, the English proceeded on their voyage, and soon afterwards, (whilst the barks, and boats passed up the river *Casseroes*), dropped anchor at Taggarin (*k*). Here, they remained

(*k*) January 1, 1565.

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remained until the twenty-eighth of January, when, having procured as many negroes as could be admitted within their vessels, they set sail for the West Indies. During eighteen days, the fleet was detained by calms, and did not reach the island of Dominica, until the eighth of March, at which period the fresh water was expended, and the crews, languishing under the want of necessaries, despaired of preservation. A barbarous race of cannibals infested the adjoining shore, and the English, who were not ignorant that the consequence of being taken by the savages must be instant death, had no alternative but to perish through excess of thirst, or run the risk of falling a dreadful sacrifice to the ferocious disposition of their fellow-creatures, who would first kill, and next devour them. As their situation was become intolerable, they, at once, determined to disembark, and, after having wandered around the country, unnoticed by the cannibals, procured an inconsiderable quantity of rain water, which had descended from the summits of the hills, and was lodged within the cavities of the vales.

On the tenth, they departed from Dominica, and, in six days, arrived at the island of Margarita, where a Spanish officer supplied them with sheep, and bullocks; a kindness which appears to have been displeasing to the governor, who not only forbade the English to trade with any of the natives, but obliged them to send back a pilot whom they had already hired, nor suffered them to depart until he had dispatched a caravel to Saint Domingo, and the neighbouring coasts, in order that the inhabitants might be prepared for a defence, and, at the same time, exclude them from the liberty of commerce.

From Margarita, the English sailed towards Santa Fe, situated on the continent, and, immediately after their

arrival (l), were so fortunate as to obtain a large supply of fresh water, and various articles of provision. On the twenty-eighth they weighed anchor, and passed, in the course of the succeeding day between the continent, and the island of Tortugas. Still steering within sight of land, they, on the third of April, reached the town of Burburota, where Hawkins remained, during fourteen days, preserving every appearance of peace, and repeatedly soliciting for the permission to engage in commerce with the natives. An Order was, at length, issued by the governor, to the officers of the customs, who were to admit the English to the liberty of trading, on the payment of certain duties, for the benefit of the king of Spain. These were so exorbitant as not only to strike at all profit, but to expose the English (if they had imprudently complied,) to severe losses. Incensed at these proceedings, our adventurer now dropped the language of intreaty, and determined to obtain by violence those advantages of which the governor had endeavoured to deprive him. On the sixteenth, he disembarked, at the head of an hundred men in arms, and marching instantly to the town, so intimidated the Spaniards, by menaces of resentment, that they promised to assist him in the purchase, and disposal of effects, on the payment of an equitable duty.

When this commercial intercourse was concluded to the mutual advantages of the parties, the English renewed their course (m), and, on the sixth of May, reached the island of Curacao, with the natives of which, they, maintained a profitable traffic, and, exclusive of a variety of provisions, received Oxen, Sheep, and lambs, in return for different articles of European

(l) January 22, 1565.

(m) May 4th.

European merchandize. Those last were less valuable than the hides alone of those animals for which they were exchanged.

On the fifteenth, the fleet departed from Curacao, and, sailing by the island of Aruba, cast anchor on the seventh, near the western promontory of Cabo de Vela. They, next, arrived at La Rancheria, the pearl-fishery of the Spaniards, and, on the nineteenth, entered the port of Rio de la Hacha. When Hawkins requested that he might be allowed to trade with the inhabitants, the treasurer of the king of Spain sent a positive refusal. The appearance of an hundred Englishmen in arms, and threatening to attack the town, induced this officer, although reluctantly, to comply with their request. They were permitted to exchange European articles for such commodities as they wanted.

On the thirty first of May, they set sail for Hispaniola, but, driven by the violence of the currents to the Leeward, were so unfortunate as to miss their passage, and fall in with the island of Jamaica. Mistaking this for Hispaniola, they not only proceeded beyond it, but continued their course to a great distance from Santa Croce, in Cuba; an event, in consequence of which they were reduced to great perplexities. On the sixteenth of June, they touched at the isle of Pinas, and departing from it, the next day, made Cape Saint Anthony, at the western extremity of the isle of Cuba. The winds, which blew violently from the shore, drove the ships into the open sea, and they steered their course to the north-west, until the twenty-ninth, when they reached the soundings of Florida.

On the fifth of July, they approached the islands of Tortugas, and, next endeavoured to proceed to the Havannah. Relying too implicitly on the Judgment of a

Frenchman, who asserted that he possessed a perfect knowledge of the situation of the neighbouring seas, they lost their passage, and were thenceforward unable to make the port at which they wished so eagerly to arrive.

The fleet now steered along the coast of Florida, and, on the twenty-eighth, being furnished with provisions, and all necessaries, prepared for a return to England. Arriving near the banks of Newfoundland (*n*), they were so fortunate as to procure great Quantities of Cod-fish, and soon afterwards, with the advantage of a favourable wind, renewed their course, and, on the twentieth of September, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-five, arrived (with a valuable lading of jewels, pearls, gold, silver, and other articles,) at Padstow, in the county of Cornwall (*o*), (*p*).

At the commencement of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-seven, this celebrated adventurer sailed to the relief of the French protestants, in Rochelle (*q*), and, returning to England, towards the close of the ensuing summer, made the necessary preparations

(*n*) August 23d.

(*o*) Stowe's annals, p. 807.—Prince's worthies of Devonshire, p. 389.—Hackluyt's voyages, v. 3. p. 501.—Purchas, v. 4. p. 1179.—Lediard's naval history, v. 1. p. 142.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 1. p. 536.

(*p*) We are informed by Prince, who examined the original patent, that Harvey, the clarencieux king at arms, granted to Hawkins, at his return, a new crest, being a demi-moor, proper, and bound with a cord. It is more than doubtful whether that augmentation can be deemed honourable, which must remind us that the person who first bore it had been concerned in enterprizes which rendered him at war with all the feelings of humanity.

(*q*) Prince's worthies of Devonshire, p. 389.—Strype's annals, v. 2.

parations for his third voyage to Guinea, and the West-Indies.

On this expedition, captain Hawkins again took the command of the *Jesus*, of Lubec, and was accompanied by the *Angel*, the *Swallow*, the *Minion*, the *Hampton*, the *William and John*, and the *Judith* (r). On the second of October, the fleet departed from Plymouth, and, during the five succeeding days, enjoyed the advantage of mild weather, and favourable breezes, but on the sixth were so exposed to the violence of a storm, that all the ships were separated for some time, and the *Jesus* became nearly disabled from proceeding on the voyage. At length, the tempest ceased, and, on the eleventh, the English renewed their course.

On their arrival at Guinea, they prepared for an attempt to seize the negroes, and during several skirmishes, in which numbers of their men were slain, overpowered, and secured five hundred slaves. With these miserable wretches, they departed, on the third of February, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-eight, for the Spanish islands in the West-Indies, where the sale of them was declared legal, in consequence of a former treaty which had been entered into by the emperor Charles the fifth and Henry, the eighth, of England, and still continued in full force.

On the twenty-seventh of March, the ships came within sight of Dominica. From thence, they proceeded successively to Margarita, Carthagená, and Cabode la Vela, where the commercial intercourse, although acquired with difficulty, was attended with considerable

(r) The *Judith* was commanded by Sir Francis Drake.— See p. 83. of this volume.

siderable success. At Rio de la Hacha, our adventurer, and his associates were less fortunate, nor could they by repeated intreaties, prevail upon the Spaniards to suffer them to trade. Determined to accomplish their designs, they now commenced hostilities, and marching towards the town, reduced it, after a short engagement, during which, only two of their men were slain. Thus driven to the necessity of complying, the vanquished engaged in traffic with their conquerors, but stipulated that their bargains should be private, and made only in the night-time.

On the sixteenth of September, the ships which had been shattered by the tempests, near the coast of Florida, cast anchor in the harbour of Saint Juan de Ulloa, at the extremity of the bay of Mexico. The inhabitants, concluding that they were arrived from Spain, repaired immediately on board, and were much terrified on the discovery of their mistake. When they observed the courteous behaviour of Hawkins, and his officers, their fears subsided, and they seemed disposed to place a confidence in the professions of the former, who declared that his sole views in entering the port were to refit his fleet, and obtain a fresh supply of water, and provisions. The only act of violence which he committed was against the persons of two Spaniards of distinguished rank, who were detained as hostages, until the return of messengers dispatched to Mexico, with an account of his demands. He could, unresisted, have attacked, and, taken twelve merchant ships, the cargoes of which were valued at two hundred thousand pounds, but fearful that such a conduct might expose him to the resentment of the queen, he prudently declined it.

On the day following, the Spanish fleet appeared in sight; a circumstance particularly distressing to our
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adventurer, who was checked in the resolution of opposing their passage into the harbour only by the consciousness that Elizabeth could never be induced to pardon so violent an hostility committed against a power with whom her subjects were not at war (*s*). On the other hand, he was no less sensible that if the Spaniards were suffered to moor their vessels, and disembark, they would repay his lenity by some immediate injury. After a short deliberation, he resolved to admit the fleet, on the condition that the recently appointed vice-roy of Mexico, who was on board, should direct the inhabitants to supply the English with provisions, at reasonable prices, and also to surrender to them the island, together with eleven pieces of brass cannon, for their defence, until the time of their departure. These things were, at first, disdainfully rejected, yet, at a subsequent conference with Hawkins, the vice-roy not only signified his assent, but gave ten hostages for the performance of the promise.

The follow is (with few variations,) the copy of an account which was written by the celebrated adventurer who is the subject of this memoir, and may claim the notice of the reader as a lively picture of the perfidy of the Spaniards, and the distresses of the English (*s*).

“ Thus, at the close of three days, the treaty was
 “ concluded, and the Spanish ships entered the port,
 “ whilst

(*s*) Such was the natural situation of the haven, that Hawkins could, with ease, have prevented the Spaniards from entering within it. In their attempt to overcome the opposition, they must inevitably have suffered shipwreck, on the coast; and this calamity would, in all probability, have been attended with the loss of the treasure, which amounted nearly to two millions sterling.

(*s*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 522, 523.

“ whilst the two fleets saluted. We then laboured to
 “ place the English, and the inhabitants of Saint Juan,
 “ separately, the captains, and seamen of each party,
 “ promising to assist by friendly offices. Our professions
 “ were as sincere, as theirs were treacherous; for, they
 “ had procured, from the continent, a reinforcement
 “ of a thousand men, and had resolved, at noon of the
 “ ensuing twenty-third of September, to attack us, on
 “ every side.”

“ At day-break, when the time fixed for the exe-
 “ cution of their villainy was near at hand, we began
 “ to discover some signs of it; such as the shifting of
 “ arms from one vessel to another; the planting, and
 “ levelling of their cannon from their ships towards
 “ the island, where our men had the guard; com-
 “ panies of soldiers moving to, and fro, more than
 “ their common occupations could require, and many
 “ other circumstances which gave rise to violent sus-
 “ picions. We therefore sent to the vice-roy (who
 “ had signed the agreement,) to inquire what could be
 “ the meaning of these proceedings. He immediately
 “ gave strict orders that every cause of distrust should
 “ be removed, and assured us that he, ‘ on the faith of
 “ a vice-roy,’ would be our defence against all trea-
 “ chery. As this answer was far from proving satis-
 “ factory, and reasons existed for supposing that num-
 “ bers of men were concealed in a large ship of the
 “ burthen of nine hundred tons, which was moored
 “ next to the Minion, we sent the master of the Jesus,
 “ who understood the Spanish language, a second time
 “ to the vice-roy, who was intreated to represent
 “ matters in their true light. This officer, perceiv-
 “ ing that it was impossible longer to conceal his trea-
 “ chery, detained the master; and causing the trump-
 “ ets to be sounded, encouraged the Spaniards to at-
 “ tack

" tack us, at once, on every side. Our men, on shore,
 " intimidated by these sudden, and unforeseen hostili-
 " ties, endeavoured to regain their ships; but the Spa-
 " niards landed their troops in such multitudes, that
 " only a small number of the English got on board of
 " the Jesus; the rest were refused quarter, and bar-
 " barously slain. The great Spanish ship, in which
 " nearly three hundred soldiers had secretly embarked,
 " immediately attacked the Minion. But, as the perfidy
 " of the Spaniards had been suspected by the crew,
 " not long before, they had slipped her cables, and
 " contrived to clear her from the harbour. Thus dis-
 " appointed, our enemies in the great ship, and two
 " more vessels, assailed the Jesus, which likewise, al-
 " though with great difficulty, and the loss of several
 " of the mariners, got out to sea."

" No sooner had the Jesus, and the Minion proceed-
 " ed about the length of two ships from the Spanish
 " fleet, than the fight began to be so warm on all
 " sides, that within the space of an hour, the Spanish
 " admiral, and another vessel were sunk, and the vice-
 " admiral was burned; so that from their vessels we
 " were not in danger of receiving any great injury."

" In the mean time, the cannon of the island had
 " fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, and it was by
 " them that we were principally annoyed. The
 " masts, yards, and rigging of the Jesus, were so
 " shattered that we had no hopes of clearing her
 " from the enemy. As our small ships were also sunk
 " by their artillery, we determined so to station the
 " Minion, that the Jesus might lie between her, and the
 " shore, and prove, as it were, a fence to secure her
 " from the cannon of the Spaniards, until night,
 " when it was proposed to take such provisions, and
 " neces-

“ necessities out of the Jesus, as could conveniently
“ be saved, and then to leave her.”

“ Whilst we were thus consulting, and endeavour-
“ ing to place the Minion out of danger from the shot
“ which was directed from the shore, the Spaniards set
“ fire to two great ships, and suffered them to drive
“ violently down towards us. Alarmed at the approach
“ of these vessels, the crew belonging to the Minion,
“ without waiting for the consent either of the cap-
“ tain, or of the master, set sail, but with such preci-
“ pitation, and disorder, that it was not without the
“ greatest difficulty that I was received on board.”

“ The greater number of the men who were left
“ alive in the Jesus contrived to follow the Minion, in
“ a small boat; but the rest, unable to enter it, were
“ left to the mercy of the Spaniards. Thus the Mi-
“ nion, with only one small bark, of the burthen of
“ fifty tons, and the Judith, escaped from the pursuits
“ of our enemies; yet, at night, the last vessel for-
“ sook us. We now remained alone, possessed only of
“ two anchors, and two cables. Our ship was so da-
“ maged that it was difficult to keep her above water;
“ and of the crew, a great number were nearly def-
“ titute of provisions. Concerning measures the most
“ proper to be taken, our opinions were divided.
“ Some urged the necessity of surrendering to the Spa-
“ niards: others were more inclined to trust to the
“ mercy of the savages; and a third party deemed it
“ more eligible to keep the sea, notwithstanding that
“ the allowance of victuals was scarcely sufficient for
“ the preservation of our lives.”

“ In this alarming situation, we roved, during the
“ space of fourteen days, over the unknown ocean,
“ and until the excess of famine obliged us once
“ more

"more to seek the land. Such was our misery, that
 "hides were esteemed palatable food. Of rats, mice,
 "cats, and dogs, not one which we could seize
 "escaped us; but parrots, and monnies were our
 "dainties. On the eighth of October, we disembarked,
 "near the extremity of the bay of Mexico,
 "and in twenty-three degrees, and a half. We had
 "imagined that the place was inhabited by Spaniards,
 "who would not only supply us with provisions, but
 "assist us to repair the ships. In these expectations,
 "we were grievously disappointed. Not a human
 "creature was to be seen; no means of subsistence
 "could be discovered; neither was any haven near in
 "which we might rest our vessel. Notwithstanding
 "that every prospect of relief was vanished, a number
 "of the crew, worn out, and emaciated by famine,
 "desired to be set on shore; and I consented to
 "their request."

"Out of two hundred persons, to which, at this distressful
 "period, our company amounted, the half
 "determined to seek a better fortune on the land.
 "With the remainder, after having procured some
 "fresh water, I again submitted to the mercy of the
 "seas, and on the sixteenth of October, renewed my
 "course (u)."

The infatuated wretches who quitted Hawkins,
 and his associates, appear to have been reserved for
 more afflicting trials of adversity. A boat, in which
 they rowed towards the shore, was overfet at a considerable
 distance from the ship; and two of the English
 perished amidst the waves; the rest swam, with difficulty,
 to the land. Here, some almost immediately expired;
 and the survivors, sinking under the severities

(u) See Sir Walter Raleigh's works, V. 2. p. 271, 272.
 —Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1177.

rities of sickness, thirst, and hunger, threw themselves in despair upon the ground, and even wished for death to put a period to their misery.

In these moments of calamity, they were suddenly attacked by the Chitemici Indian, a tribe of savages, who, at the first onset, slew eight of the English, and were preparing to destroy the rest, when, neither able, nor inclined to stand on their defence, they instantly submitted, and sued for mercy. Their assailants had concluded that they were Spaniards, and, on the discovery of their mistake, appeared affected by the fatal consequences which resulted from it. Abstaining from any farther violence, they left them to their fate, yet not without directing them to pursue a road that was terminated by the sea-port of Panuco. The English now divided themselves into two companies; the first, under the conduct of Miles Philips, proceeded to the Westward; and the second, led on by David Ingram, took their journey Northwards (x).

After a series of afflictions, the Western company (exclusive of those wretches who perished on the road,) arrived (oppressed with apprehensions of greater miseries,) at Panuco. Here, the governor, reviling them by the name of English miscreants, flagitious Lutherans, and execrated heretics, seized on the few effects which they had yet preserved, and cast them into prison. When they solicited for the attendance of the surgeons on such of their associates as had been wounded by the Indians, he replied, with brutal mockery, that the administration of an effectual cure was the sole province of the executioner, who might justly

be

(x) Philips, and Ingram returned afterwards to England. The former related to Purchas the melancholy adventures of his companions.

be offended, should they attempt to gain a remedy from the skill of others. After a confinement of four days, they were dragged into the presence of the governor, and, having been bound with halters, informed that the guard of Indians was waiting to conduct them as far as Mexico, at the distance of nine leagues. On the road, although they did not experience equal barbarity from all the keepers, they were frequently knocked down, and insulted with the cry of "march! march! ye English dogs, vile Lutherans, and enemies of Gop." On their arrival at Mexico, the greater number were attacked by violent fevers; (the consequence of their fatigues, and sufferings, during a tedious journey,) calamities which contrary to their expectations, were followed by a gentler treatment from the Spaniards, who sent them to the hospitals, and gave orders that no means should be neglected for the preservation of their lives. The few persons who recovered were, notwithstanding, reduced to slavery, at Tescuco, and must inevitably have perished under the barbarity of their masters, if Robert Sweeting, (the son of an Englishman, by a Spanish woman,) had not successfully interposed in their behalf.

During a considerable time, their servitude was alleviated by indulgence, and, availing themselves of the frequent permissions which they received to labour for their own subsistence, they had acquired a small property, and observed with pleasure that each effort of their industry contributed to its increase. At length, arrived the fatal interruption to their happiness. The officers of the inquisition deprived them of their effects, and, for the space of eighteen months, confined their persons in loathsome dungeons. At the expiration of this period, they were tortured on the wheel, and idly hoping to preserve their lives, confessed to crimes

crimes of which they never had been guilty. The judges now pronounced the sentence, which, after a short delay, was carried into execution. George Rively, Peter Momfrie, and one Cornelius, an Irishman were burned alive, with halters about their necks, and candles in their hands. Others were conducted naked, through the streets, on horse-back, and, having received three hundred lashes, with long whips, were sent immediately to the galleys, in which they served, afterwards, during their allotted course of years. The bondage of the rest was passed in monasteries, from one of which Miles Phillips effected his escape, and, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-two, returned in safety, to his native country.

Amongst the English whom the vice-roy of Mexico had confined, in irons, on board of the Spanish fleet, commanded by Don Juan de Velasco, were Robert Barret, John Gilbert, John Bone, and Job Hortop. The two first were burned alive, at Sevil, from the prison of which city, they had endeavoured to escape. The others (concerned, also, in like attempts,) were sentenced to slavery, in the galleys, during ten years, and, after the expiration of that term, to perpetual confinement. Horton was, at length, redeemed by Hernando de Soria, a Spaniard of noble birth, and singular humanity. Under this master, he passed an easy servitude of three years, at the close of which, he embraced a favourable opportunity to regain his liberty, set sail for England, and in December, of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety, arrived at Portsmouth.

The reader hath already been informed (y) that captain Hawkins, and his associates prepared for a return

(y) See Page 173. of this volume.

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return to Europe. It is, now, necessary to add that, having weighed anchor, they stood through the gulph of Florida, and suffering by the violence of a tempest, were forced to put into Ponte Vedra, in Spain, where the inhabitants, observing that they were enfeebled by sickness, and scarcely capable of making any defence, appeared determined to attack them. Eager to avoid the danger, they proceeded instantly to Vigo, where, fortunately, they were joined by several English ships, the commanders of which supplied them with such necessaries as they wanted. From this port, they directed their course homewards, and arrived, safely, at Mounts-Bay, in Cornwall, on the twentieth of January, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-nine : of those afflictions which were experienced during the course of the voyage, the celebrated adventurer, who bore his share of misery, hath left a full relation. In his concluding remarks, we find a striking picture of misfortune : " If all the calamities of this expedition should be perfectly, and thoroughly written, there would need a painful man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives, and deaths of the martyrs (x) (a)."

When a small squadron belonging to the royal navy, and under the command of Hawkins, was riding in Cat-water, the admiral of the Spanish fleet, ap-

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(x) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 469, 487, 524, 524.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1177.—Campbell's Lives of the admirals, V. 1. p. 541.—Lediard's naval history, V. 1. p. 145, 146.—Camden, p. 352.

(a) To perpetuate the memory of the celebrated action, at Rio de la Hacha, Mr. Cook, at that period, clarencieux, added to the arms of Hawkins, on an escutcheon of pretence, or, an escallop, between two palmers staves, sable.—The patent for this augmentation is still extant.

pointed to escort the princess Anne, of Austria, from Flanders (b), endeavoured to run between the island, and the place, without paying the customary salutes, Hawkins directed the gunner of his own ship to fire at the rigging of the Spanish admiral, who, apparently inattentive to this proceeding, continued on his course, when a second shot, which had been levelled at the hull, passed through his vessel. He now took in the flags, and top-sails; and, having cast anchor, sent an officer of distinction, with compliments, and complaints, to Hawkins. This brave commander, standing on the deck, would neither admit him, nor listen to his message; but bade him inform the admiral that as he had neglected the respect due to the queen of England, within her seas, and port, and was also accompanied by so large a fleet, he must not presume to keep his present station, but depart in twelve hours; after the expiration of which time, should he still refuse to comply with this injunction, the consequences might be fatal, and teach him to bewail that obstinacy which had marked him more as a declared enemy than the subject of a prince who had acknowledged that the dominion of the surrounding seas was vested in Elizabeth.

On the delivery of this message, the Spanish admiral came on board the *Jesus*, where, at first, he was informed that Hawkins would not consent to see him. At length, prevailing by repeated solicitations, he obtained an interview, during which he remarked, with equal astonishment, and concern, that he had been insulted by hostilities, as unmerited as they were violent; and that he expected to have found a different recep-

(b) See page 4 of this volume, and page 168 of the second volume.

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reception, in the time of peace. It was answered that the proceeding which he had falsely termed an unwarrantable outrage must be considered as the just punishment of his arrogance; that he well knew what honours were continually exacted, and received by the fleets of England; that an express had been dispatched to court, with the particulars of his behaviour; and that until the commands of an irritated sovereign should be declared, he must retire from the harbour. The admiral now asserted that his offence was the result of ignorance alone, and that he wished to make the fullest reparation, provided that it might not derogate from the dignity of the monarch whom he served.

An offer so submissive produced a milder conference; and Hawkins, after a slight insinuation that the Spaniards had been guilty of a wilful negligence, demanded whether if the English ships should enter a port belonging to the king his master, and, mooring near his fleet, carry their flags within their tops, the admiral would not shoot them down, and oblige the offenders to depart immediately. He replied in the affirmative; again confessed his error, and sent the necessary instructions to the officer, who commanded during his absence. Soon afterwards, the Spanish ships saluted; and Hawkins, satisfied by this concession, entertained the admiral on board the *Jesus*, with every mark of reconciliation, and respect (c).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty eight, Hawkins (who had been appointed rear-admiral, and commander of the *Victory*,) was knighted by the lord Effingham. Concerning those important

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(c) Sir Richard Hawkins's observations, p. 22—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 542.

services which raised him to this distinction, we have already written (d), and it is, now, sufficient to observe that his conduct, during those celebrated engagements which terminated in the defeat of the Armada, was equally applauded by his sovereign, and his country.

In the year, one thousand five hundred, and ninety, the queen gave orders for the equipment of two squadrons, which consisted of ten ships; the *Revenge*, the *Mary-Rose*, the *Lyon*, the *Bonaventure*, the *Rainbow*, the *Hope*, the *Crane*, the *Acquittance*, the *Fore-sight*, and the *Swiftsure*. Of these, five were commanded by Sir John Hawkins, and the rest by Sir Martin Frobisher. Under them were Sir Edward Yorke, and the captains Fenner, Beeston, Bestock, and Burnell. The design of this armament was to annoy the coasts of Spain, and if possible, intercept the plate-fleet, on its return to Europe. The first resolution adopted by Philip was to oppose these gallant officers, with a superior squadron of twenty sail, under the command of Don Alonzo de Bassan; but, on mature deliberation, he relinquished this design, and directing his ships to stay, within the harbour, dispatched a light vessel to the Indies, with orders for the detention of the fleet, until the close of winter. On this station, Sir John Hawkins, and his colleague, remained during seven months; yet without either taking a prize, or performing a single service that was worthy to be recorded. They next made an attempt on the island of Fyal, which had submitted, in the preceding year, to the earl of Cumberland; but, at this period, the citadel was completely fortified, and the inhabitants had received so ample a supply of ammunition, and artillery,

(d) Volume the second, from page 273, to page 300.

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ry, that Sir John, and his associates, judged it prudent to retreat.

On this occasion, although the conduct of the admirals was not acceptable to the people, the courtiers were unanimous in representing it as beneficial to the state. It was observed, that by compelling the Spanish navy to seek a shelter in the harbours, and by reducing the plate-fleet to the necessity of wintering in the Indies, they had aimed a fatal stroke at the maritime power of an ambitious enemy, and exposed the merchants of Seville, and the trading cities, to that severe distress which is the natural consequence of a lengthened interruption to the prosperity of commerce (e).

The circumstances relating to the unsuccessful expedition against Puerto Ricco have been already mentioned (f); and it is scarcely necessary to repeat that whilst the English ships were lying at anchor before this island, Sir John Hawkins expired (g), a melancholy sacrifice to the anguish of the mind (h). The character of this celebrated hero is drawn in the memoirs of his great, but equally unfortunate associate, Sir Francis Drake, who, although brave to an extreme, appears, like Hawkins, to have been destitute of that magnanimity which, after a brilliant, and uninterrupted

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(e) Camden's annals, p. 620.—Sir William Monson's naval tracts.—Linschotten's voyages, chap. 99.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 1. p. 544.—Lediard's naval history, v. 1. p. 275.

(f) See the 143d page of this volume.

(g) November 21st. 1595.

(h) Camden, p. 698, 699, 700.—Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 182, 183.—Hackluyt, v. 3. p. 583.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1183.—Relation of a voyage to the West Indies, by Sir Francis Drake, &c. p. 50.

series of successes, can rise superior to the calamities that may ensue.

That few officers in the marine department were, at this period, possessed of such talents, conduct, and intrepidity, as could have enabled them to surpass the valiant and accomplished Hawkins (*i*) is a truth to which we readily assent. His great abilities were fully ripened by an experience which had resulted from an active, and assiduous service, during a course of forty eight years, twenty-two of which were passed under the immediate countenance of his sovereign, who permitted him to hold, for such a length of time, the lucrative, and honourable office of treasurer of the navy (*k*).

At one period, he, in conjunction with his eldest brother, William, was the owner of thirty vessels, of considerable burthen (*l*); and it was generally allowed that he had made more useful discoveries, and introduced better regulations amongst the several departments of the navy, than any officers who, in preceding reigns, had been advanced to the same posts. In support of this opinion, may be introduced a glorious evidence; the institution of the chest, at Chatham. This fund is of itself sufficient to teach us to revere the names of Drake, and Hawkins, under the exertions of whose wisdom, and humanity it was, at first, encouraged, and augmented. Their plan that seamen possessed of the advantages resulting from success, and, in their own persons, strangers to the calamities of war, should, by a voluntary deduction from their

(*i*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 148.

(*k*) Camden, p. 700.—Stowe's annals. p. 807.—Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 371.

(*l*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

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SIR JOHN HAWKINS. 183

their pay, at once afford relief, and recompence to those associates who had been wounded, in the service of their country, was approved, and patronized by Elizabeth, and (what is of much greater moment,) hath been adopted by posterity (m).

(m) Lambarde's perambulation of Kent.—Kilburn's Survey of Kent, p. 53. MS. in the collection of Mr. Pepys.—Sir John Hawkins erected, and amply endowed an hospital, at Chatham.



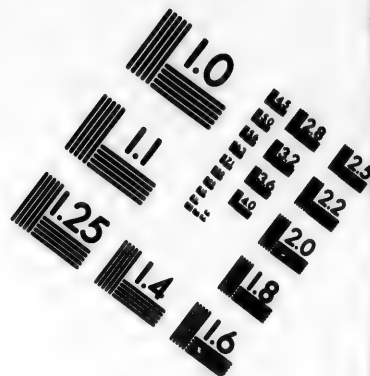
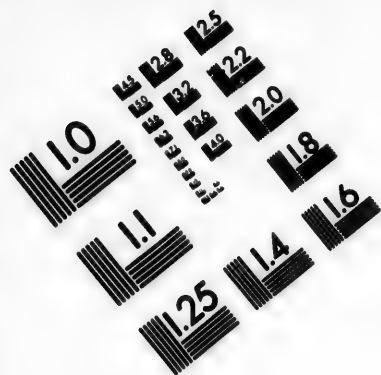
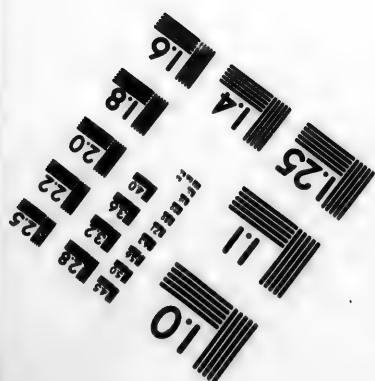
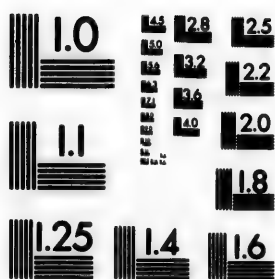


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1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 1, 1861. It is a very important document, as it contains the President's message to the Congress at the beginning of his first term. The letter is written in a formal, dignified style, and it is one of the most important documents in the history of the United States.

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Sir ROBERT DUDLEY.

THIS noble adventurer (born in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-three, (a), at Sheen, in the county of Surry,) was the son of the earl of Leicester, by the lady Douglas Sheffield, the daughter of William, lord Howard, of Effingham. He received the first advantages of a learned education from Mr. Owen Jones, a gentleman of great abilities, who resided at Offington, in Suffex (b). From this place, he was sent, at the age of fifteen years, to the university of Oxford, and admitted into the college of Christ Church, where he became the pupil of the celebrated Thomas Chaloner, who, afterwards, received the honour of knighthood, and was appointed tutor to Henry, prince of Wales, and son to James, the first. In consequence of the demise of his father, on the fourth of September, in the year, one thou-

(a) Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. 2. p. 275.

(b) Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, Edit. 1656. p. 167.

thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight (*g*); at his house, at Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, Sir Robert stood intitled, on the death of his uncle, Ambrose, earl of Warwick, to the magnificent castle of Kenilworth; and other large estates in different quarters of the kingdom (*d*).

At this period, although endued with talents which would have enabled him to shine with distinguished lustre in the most arduous department of public life, he appeared to give an exclusive preference to the study of the naval arts; and, shortly afterwards, embraced an opportunity of gratifying his inclinations, by a voyage to the West-Indies. On this enterprize, he took the command of the *Bear*, a stout vessel, of the burthen of two hundred tons, and was attended by captain Munck, in the *Bear's Whelp*, and two pinaces, the *Frisking*, and the *Earwig* (*e*).

On the sixth of November (*f*), the ships departed from Southampton, and towards the evening of the same day, were separated by the violence of a tempest. Not intimidated by this event, Sir Robert determined to proceed upon the voyage, and sailed along the coasts of Spain, within view of cape Finisterre, and cape Vincent. Here, he chased several vessels, all of which were either in the service of England, or belonged to powers at peace with that kingdom. Previous to his depar-

(*c*) Murdin's Collection of State Papers, p. 788.—Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

(*d*) See the last testament of Robert, earl of Leicester, in Collins's Memoirs of the Sidneys, prefixed to the first volume of the Sidney-Papers, p. 70.

(*e*) He had prepared, as early as in his twenty-second year, for an expedition into the south seas; but Elizabeth, and her ministers, who thought the undertaking dangerous, obliged him to relinquish it.

(*f*) A. D. 1594.

SIR ROBERT DUDLEY. 187

departure from this latitude, he had the satisfaction to obtain intelligence concerning the Bear's Whelp, which had returned, in safety, to Southampton, with two prizes.

On the fourteenth of December, he steered for the Canaries, in hopes of joining some vessels, on board of which it might be convenient to send the greater number of his men, who, amounting to two hundred, were so incommoded for want of room, and pure air, that they languished under fevers, and infectious disorders. After a short cruize, he had the good fortune to intercept, and take two caravels. The command of these was given to Wood, and Wentworth, both of whom tried fidelity, and experience. With his squadron, again consisting of three ships, Sir Robert proceeded to Cape Blanco, on the coast of Africa. From thence, he sailed to the island of Trinidad; and, on the first of February, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-five, came to an anchor in the Bay of Pelicans, so called from the number of those birds which continually fly around it. On the seventh, he dispatched the two caravels, from Paracoa, where he was then at anchor, to the West-Indies, and directed the commanding officers to remain on that station, until they should have taken some valuable prizes; and, afterwards, sail back to England. He next sent the boat, and fourteen of his crew, to Orocoa, at the distance of an hundred, and fifty miles; and situated near the banks of the river Oronoque. They were instructed to search for mines of gold, and returned with prospects of success which they neglected to improve. The Indian chief, residing on the spot, had assured them that he was willing to exchange a quantity of that valuable metal, for hatchets, Knives, and
jewels

jews-harps. In confirmation of the sincerity of his promises, he sent Sir Robert three small half-moons of gold, and two bracelets of silver. The latter became eager to engage in so lucrative a commerce, and was equally astonished, and exasperated at the discovery that not one of his associates would either promote the undertaking, or assign a reason for their refusal. On the day following, he was joined by a pinnace, under the command of captain Popham, with whom he afterwards set sail (g), and, having proceeded to the northward of Granata, took a small prize, the freight of which he secured, and then destroyed her. He, next, steered towards the island of Flores, and Cuervo, in hopes of intercepting some valuable prizes; but, at length, disappointed in his expectations, and nearly destitute of provisions, he prepared for a return to England.

On his passage, and at a period when numbers of his men had died of sickness, he was attacked by a Spanish vessel, of the burthen of six hundred tons. The engagement lasted, at close quarters, during the space of two days, when a deficiency of powder, and the feeble situation of the crew, obliged him to retreat; yet not until the enemy was on the point of sinking; an event which (if the information given to Sir Robert was well-grounded,) soon followed this involuntary cessation of hostilities. Exclusive of the loss of this ship, the English had taken, during the course of the expedition, eight Spanish vessels, most of which, they either sunk, or burned. Continuing their course, they, on the fifth of May, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-five, arrived safely at Saint Ives, in the county of Cornwall (h).

At

(g) March 12th.

(h) Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 574.

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At the commencement of the month of June, in the succeeding year, Sir Robert accompanied the earl of Essex, and the lord high-admiral, Howard, on the celebrated expedition to Cadiz, and received the honour of knighthood, in reward of his conduct, and intrepidity, during the course of the action, before that place (f). Endeavouring, not long afterwards, to prove the legitimacy of his birth, he was frustrated in the execution of this attempt, by an opposition at once so irritating, powerful, and unexpected, that, in the bitterness of resentment, and despair, he resolved intirely to forsake his country (k). Embarking instantly for Italy, he sailed to Florence, and, on his arrival, was received with every mark of friendship, and distinction, by the then reigning grand-duke of Tuscany, and the arch-duchess Magdalen, of Austria, sister to the emperor, Ferdinand, the second (l).

In this agreeable retirement, he became an object of such general approbation, and placed his great abilities in so conspicuous a point of view, by the introduction of plans for the improvement of shipping, the establishment of various manufactures, and the Augmentation of foreign commerce, that the emperor, in compliance with the intreaties of the arch-duchess (to whom Sir Robert had, at a preceding period, been appointed great chamberlain,) was pleased, by letters patent, (bearing date, at Vienna, on the ninth of March, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty,) to create him a duke, and count of the empire, by the title of duke of Northumberland, and earl of Warwick; honours to which he afterwards received

(i) Stowe's Annals, p. 771.—Speed, p. 869.

(k) Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, p. 166.

(l) Wood's Athen. Oxon, V. 2. Col. 127.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 579.

ceived an unsolicited addition (m), by the enrollment of his name, amongst the nobility of Rome, in consequence of an order from Urban the eighth, at that *Era*, the reigning pope (n). It was during his residence, in this country, that he formed the great design of converting Leghorn into a free port (o), and, in acknowledgement of this important service, he received from the grand duke a considerable pension, exclusive of the free inheritance of the castle of Carbello, a magnificent villa, (at the distance of three miles from Florence,) which he so increased, and beautified, as to render it one of the most elegant, and spacious palaces in Italy. At this place, he paid his debt to nature, in September, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-nine, and in the seventy-sixth year of his age, having acquired in the republic of letters, a most extensive reputation, his claim to which will seldom be disputed by those who shall attentively peruse his works (p).

(m) A. D. 1630.

(n) Athen. Oxon. V. 2. Col. 127.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 580.

(o) Fuller's *Worthies in Surry*, p. 84.—Bishop Burnet's *Travels through Switzerland*, Letter 5.—Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 761.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 580.

(p) Of these the most curious is the following: "Arcano del Mate di D Ruberto Dudleo, Duca di Northumbria, e Conte di Varwic. Diviso in Libri sei. Nel primo de quali si tratta dello Longitudine praticabile in diversi Modi, d'Invenzione, dell'Autore. Nel secondo, delle Carte sue generali, e de Portolani rettificati in Longitudine, e Latitudine. Nel Terzo, della Disciplina sua marittima, e militare. Nel quarto, dell'Architettura sua nautica di Vascelli da Guerra. Nel quinta, della Navigazione scientifica, e perfetta, cive spirale, o di gran Circoli. Nel sesto, delle Carte sue geographice, e particolari. Impressione seconda. Coretta, et accresciuta, secondo l'Originale
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SIR ROBERT DUDLEY. 191

“ del Medesimo eccellentiss : Signor Duca, che si conserva
 “ nella Libreria del Convento di Firenze della Pace, de Mo-
 “ naci di S. Bernardo dell' Ordine Fuliese. Con l'Indice
 “ de Capitoli, e delle Figure, et Istruzione a librari per le-
 “ garle. Al serenissimo Ferdinando Secondo Granduca di
 “ Toscana. In Fiorenza. 1661. 2 Tom. Fol.”

It is elegantly printed on a very large imperial paper, enriched with upwards of six hundred beautifully engraved plates, consisting of maps, charts, plans, and other authentic testimonies of the excellent genius of its illustrious author. The chapters to the first five books which compose the first volume, as well as those of the sixth which comprehend the second volume, are again subdivided into several sections, and make, in the whole, one hundred, and forty-three pages. Immediately after the title-page to the first volume, appears a general index to the first five books ; next come the letters-patent of Ferdinand, the second ; then, a short advertisement, addressed, by the Editor, to the learned reader, setting forth the many advantages of this edition, with a brief index to the whole six books, which is followed by a discourse on the mathematical science, as far as it relates to his subject, intended as an introduction to his great work.—Of this book, but few copies are within the kingdom. One was deposited as a great rarity, in the archives of the Bodleian library, at Oxford, and another copy (presented by Sir R. Moray,) is in the collection of the royal society. The first edition appeared in 1630, 1646, the two volumes coming out at different periods.—See Wood's Athen. Oxon. V. 2. Col. 128.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 580, 581.

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GEORGE CLIFFORD,

EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

THIS celebrated adventurer (the last heir-male of his illustrious family (a),) was born in the year one thousand, five hundred, and fifty eight, and passed the earlier part of his life chiefly under the care of the learned John Whitgift, who was afterwards advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Whatsoever advantages the earl of Cumberland might have reaped from an academical education, the succeeding employments of his life, afford a proof that he preferred the active culture of the naval arts, to the exertion of his talents, either in the senate, or the court. It is not through these last departments that we attempt to trace him; the chief objects of our notice are his enterprizes on the ocean; and, therefore, without advertg to those circumstances which are foreign to the design of this

VOL. III.

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(a) Camden.—Stowe.—Speed.—Holingshed.

Memoir, we shall proceed to the relation of his voyages of discovery.

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-six, he prepared, at his own expence, for an expedition to the South seas, and, towards the conclusion of the summer, had fitted out a small squadron, which consisted of the Red Dragon, (the admiral's ship,) of the burthen of two hundred and sixty tons, having on board seventy men, under the command of Robert Widdrington; the bark Clifford, (vice-admiral,) of the burthen of one hundred, and thirty tons, and commanded by captain Christopher Lister; the Roe, (rear-admiral,) commanded by captain Hawes; and the Dorothy, a pinnace, formerly belonging to Mr. Walter Raleigh.

On the seventeenth of August, the earl, and his associates set sail from Plymouth, and, in three days after their departure, intercepted, and engaged sixteen northern hulks, the commanders of which pretended that they were employed in the service of the citizens of Hamburgh, and proceeding thither on their return from Lisbon. Their refusal to strike their flags, and lower their top-sails, in deference to the English, gave occasion to the action, which ended in their defeat. Having surrendered to the conquerors a great part of the cargo, and quantities of provisions, they were suffered to renew their course.

On the seventeenth of September, the fleet approached the coast of Barbary, and, soon afterwards, cast anchor in the river del Oro. They, next, arrived, in the month of October, at Sierra Leona, from whence, having procured a supply of fresh water, rice, and various provisions, they sailed towards America, and reached the southern latitude of thirty degrees, and forty minutes, on the fourth of January, in the year,

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year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-seven.

On the tenth, they intercepted a small Portuguese vessel, which was bound to Santa Fe, a town situated on the banks of Rio della Plata. On board of this prize, were several negroes, and a small cargo of sugar, rice, and sweetmeats. A second ship, in the service of the same nation, fell into their hands, on the succeeding day; and both were suffered to depart, after having been rifled of such articles as might be useful to the English.

On the twelfth, they reached Seal Island; and, on the fourteenth, arrived at Green Island, where they remained during the course of sixteen days, employed in filling the casks with water, and catching quantities of fish. At this place, they discovered, and received on board, Miles Philips, one of those unfortunate adventurers who had been left by captain Hawkins, in the West-Indies.

On the seventh of February, and whilst the ships were out at sea, the earl of Cumberland called a council of all the officers, and gentlemen, on board of the Red Dragon, in order that they might determine what course, under their present circumstances, was the most proper to be taken. At this meeting, so different were the opinions of the speakers, that it was deemed prudent to adjourn until the succeeding day. Previous to the renewal of debates, an inquiry had been made concerning the state, and quantity of the provisions; and the discovery of an impending scarcity was so alarming, that the council, more unanimous in their resolves, insisted on the expediency of applying to their own uses the necessaries which had been allotted to the prizes, and recommended the immediate dismissal of the latter. When these propo-

sals had been executed, the ships proceeded, with the wind at North, towards the streights, but were soon obliged, partly for want of provisions, and partly on account of the inclemency of the season, to change their course, and bear away for the Brazils.

On the fifth of April, they sailed into the road of Camana, and, having procured a supply of hogs, and bullocks, came to an anchor, on the eleventh, before the town of Baya. Here, they found a Portuguese fleet, consisting of eight ships, one of which was of the burthen of two hundred and fifty tons, and mounted twelve pieces of artillery. At midnight, the English, in their boats, surrounded four of the largest of these vessels, and, cutting their cables, towed them, with impunity, from the harbour, notwithstanding that both in the attack, and the retreat, they were exposed to the incessant fire of the cannon, and the small arms. They even disembarked, and procured assistance from the shore, although the Portuguese, and Indian troops were drawn up, in order to oppose them.

Whilst the English were conveying to their fleet the prizes, the least of which was of the burthen of one hundred and thirty tons, they intercepted a large hulk, the captain of which observed that he belonged to Flushing. He was, notwithstanding, directed to keep company with the prizes, and, obeying, brought with him a small bark, and a caravel, freighted with forty butts of wine. The last appears to have been the most valuable part of the plunder which was taken during the course of this successful enterprize.

On the sixth of May, the pinnace, attended by two boats, and manned with fifty of the crew, was sent ashore for water and fresh provisions. On their return, a galley, on board of which were four hundred

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Portuguese, exclusive of Indians, began a furious attack; yet, in spite of the superiority of their numbers, they were exposed to so terrible a resistance from the English, (who lost but three men,) that only thirty survived, and escaped to relate the particulars of their defeat.

On the sixteenth, the English disembarked again, plundered the refining houses of the Portuguese, and, having seized, out of a thousand pots of sugar, a quantity for their own use, set fire to the rest. On the day following, they took a small caravel, and, discovering that her freight was not of any value, immediately destroyed her.

On the twenty-second, they renewed their course, and, soon afterwards (b), reached an island (at the distance of twelve leagues to the southward of the town of Baya,) where they stayed in order to procure a large supply of wood, and water.

On the twenty-fourth, they intercepted a canoe, in which were an Indian, a native of the adjacent country, and a mariner, in the service of the Portuguese. The latter confessed that a new vessel, (belonging to these people,) of the burthen of one hundred tons, and freighted with meal, sugar, and other Provisions, was secreted at a short distance from the shore, where it was intended that she should lie, until the departure of the English, from the coast. The earl of Cumberland directed the greater number of the crew to man the pinnace, and, attended by the Portuguese, proceed in search of this valuable ship. They immediately set sail, but, as the night advanced, were obliged to cast anchor.

On the twenty-sixth, they found her concealed in so small a creek that it was with difficulty that the

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boat

(b) April 23, 1587,

boat could enter it. She surrendered, without the least resistance, and, after several ineffectual attempts, the English proceeded with her to their own ships. On the sixteenth of June, they took a pinnace, the cargo of which was not considerable. At this period, the crews began to murmur, lamented over their long absence from their native country, and expressed an insurmountable aversion from the continuance of the voyage to the south seas. Unable to remove their uneasiness, the earl consented that they should return home, and, on the thirtieth of September, the fleet arrived at Plymouth.

The miscarriages of this enterprize have been attributed to Widdrington, who, at every consultation, expressed an unwillingness to pass the streights of Magellan, and continually raised some obstacles against the measure. The behaviour of Lister seems more intitled to approbation: he perpetually recommended the necessity of pursuing the enterprize, for the accomplishment of which the fleet was fitted out, and, whilst others expressed an eagerness to return, declared that if he were suffered to take eight seamen in exchange for landmen, and, at the same time, supplied with six butts of wine, one barrel of oil, and three of fish, he would pursue the voyage, with the bark Clifford, alone; but even with this offer, the majority were unwilling to comply (c).

The next celebrated naval enterprize in which the earl of Cumberland bore an active part, was the successful operation against the Armada, in the year, one

(c) The particulars relating to this expedition are taken from Camden.—Stowe.—Speed.—Holingshead.—Hackett, Part 3. p. 769.—Harris's Coll. Part 2. p. 685.—Lediard's naval History, V. 1. p. 219.—Campbell's Lives of the admirals, V. 1. p. 576.

thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight. At this period, he took the command of the Elizabeth-Bona-venture, and bravely contributed to that victory, the particulars of which have been already mentioned (d).

In October of the same year, the queen appointed him to the command of a squadron, in which it was intended that he should pursue his voyage to the South seas, and gave orders that the Golden Lion, a ship belonging to the royal navy, should be lent to him during the continuance of the enterprize. Having victualled, and equipped this, and other vessels, at his own expence, he sailed; with several gentlemen, from England, towards the conclusion of the month. The success of this expedition was not answerable to the preparations; neither could the earl at this period, carry his designs into execution. The great obstacles were unfavourable winds, and tempestuous weather, during which the Golden Lion lost her main-mast, by the board. The only prize taken was the Hare, of Dunkirk, on her passage through the narrow seas, for Spain, and freighted chiefly with articles of merchandize (e).

Not intimidated by disappointments, the earl of Cumberland prepared, in the succeeding year, for an expedition to the Azores. Elizabeth, who looked with approbation on his enterprizes, permitted him to take the Victory, a vessel of considerable force, and belonging to her navy. The remainder of his little squadron consisted of the Megg, (vice-admiral,) commanded by captain Monson (f); the Margaret, (rear-

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(d) See volume II. of this work, from page 270, to page 364.

(e) Harris's coll. v. 1. p. 686.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1142.—Lediard's naval history, V. 1. p. 263.

(f) Afterwards Sir William Monson.

admiral, commanded by captain Careless (g); and a caravel, commanded by captain Pigeon. All these, with the Victory, (on board of which was the earl of Cumberland, and, under him, captain Lister,) were completely equipped, and manned with their proper complements of four hundred mariners, and soldiers.

On the eighteenth of June, the English set sail from Plymouth, and, shortly afterwards (h), intercepted, and took, three French ships, in the service of the League,) freighted with fish, and on their passage from Newfoundland, to Nieuhaven, and Saint Maloes. Of these, two were sent to England, together with the Margaret, which, being ill-constructed, and in bad repair, was deemed unable to proceed upon the voyage. On the twenty-eighth, and the succeeding day, they met with several of the ships, belonging to the Squadron, under the joint command of Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, who were returning from Cadiz, in such distress, resulting from the expenditure of their provisions, that they must have perished, if the earl of Cumberland, and his associates, had not relieved them.

On the thirteenth of July, and, at a short distance from the Spanish coast, the English took twelve ships belonging to the Hanse Towns, and, having rifled them of spices, valued at seven thousand pounds, permitted them to depart towards their respective ports.

The fleet now sailed to the Azores, and, on the first of August, arrived in sight of the island of Saint Michael. As it had been determined to cut the cables of four Spanish vessels, and, at midnight, convey them from the harbour, orders were given that false colours should be hoisted, the better to facilitate the execution of the enterprize. Accordingly, under the en-

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signs of Spain, the boats proceeded to the place of action, and, unresisted, towed off two ships, the crews of which, excepting a small number, leaped into the ocean, and, with dreadful outcries, alarmed the inhabitants of the town, who fired several shot from the artillery on the ramparts, but in so erring a direction that none took place. The prizes were chiefly freighted with wine, and oil; acquisitions less valuable than those which were made, on a succeeding day (i), when the caravel took a vessel laden not only with thirty tons of Madeira wine, but with great quantities of sugar, sweet-meats, woollen-cloth, silk, and taffetas. At this place, the English were joined by the captains Davis, and Markesbury, under whose command were two vessels (one of which belonged to Sir Walter Raleigh,) a pinnace, and a bark, named the Lime.

Having received advice that the Spanish carracks were at anchor near Fyal, the Earl of Cumberland proceeded, with his Squadron, to that island, and, arriving there, on the twenty-seventh of August, discovered but few vessels; a disappointment which was heightened by the information that a rich ship had left the port, on the preceding day. Three of the English boats, under the command of the Captains Lister, and Monson, made a desperate attack on a vessel of the burthen of three hundred tons, having on board fifty men, and mounting eighteen pieces of artillery. She was moored to the castle, the great guns of which played on the boats, during the whole time of the action, which ended, not only in the capture of this vessel, but of another that had arrived with a rich cargo from the Indies. Soon afterwards, the boats, in defiance of the incessant cannonading of the enemy, as-
 failed,

(i) August 7th.

sailed, and towed away from the harbour, several small ships, which were returned from Guinea, with cargoes of elephants teeth, cocoa, and goat-skins.

As he had missed the carracks, the earl was determined to direct his hostilities against the town of Fyal, and reduced it, without the loss of a single man. Having taken from the fort fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance, and their military stores, he accepted of a ransom (for the religious houses, and churches,) which was paid in plate, and amounted to the value of two thousand ducats. Unfortunately, the English did not arrive in time to intercept the rich Spanish West-India fleet, which consisted of eighteen large ships, and, in sight of their pursuers, came to an anchor, at the port of Angra, in Tercera, a safe shelter, and so well defended by an adjoining citadel, that an attempt to seize the vessels must inevitably have miscarried.

From hence, the ships sailed to the island of Saint Michael, and, afterwards, to that of Saint Mary, where they took two prizes, on their passage from the Brazils, and laden with sugar. These were sent to England, in company with the Megg, whilst the earl, attended by the remainder of his Squadron, held on his course for Spain. During the voyage, he took two other vessels, one of which bound from France, to Newfoundland, and, in the service of the League, was of the burthen of two hundred tons. The other had been separated from the West-Indian fleet, to which she belonged, and was of the burthen of four hundred tons: amongst the articles of lading were bars of silver, hides, sugar, and cochineal, the whole of which was valued at one hundred thousand pounds.

They next arrived at the island of Graciosa, the inhabitants of which, after having resisted, during the course of two days, were allowed to capitulate, and

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preserved the place by the surrender of a large quantity of provisions. Two more prizes fell into the hands of the English. These were freighted with sugar, and valued at seven thousand pounds sterling.

The capture of a third ship, under the castle of the island of Saint Mary, was a service of more danger than the earl of Cumberland, and his associates, as yet accustomed to conquer without suffering from the violence of opposition, had expected to engage in. Numbers of the English were either killed or wounded; a calamity which must, in some measure, be attributed to the obstinacy of captain Lister, who, contrary to all persuasions, disembarked in the very face of the fortifications. During the action, the earl of Cumberland was much exposed to the fire of the enemy. Three balls rebounded from his target, and a fourth was lodged, although not deeply, in his side. By the grenades, and the volleys of stones which had been discharged from the warlike instruments of the enemy, he was so severely wounded that the blood issued from his face, legs, and hands, which were also burnt in many parts.

The English now proceeded on their return homewards, and, as the prizes, and prisoners became numerous, captain Lister received orders to take the rich West-Indian ship, under his convoy, and expedite his course. This unfortunate commander was wrecked, soon afterwards, at Mount's Bay, near the borders of Cornwall, where the vessels were lost, and all the company, excepting six, perished amidst the waves.

Calamities little short of those which we have now related, were felt by our illustrious adventurers, and his associates. They are mentioned in the following quotations; and it is needless to apologize for the
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insertion of it, as the descriptions of a fellow-sufferer must make the deepest impressions on the reader.

“ Soon afterwards, the wind came about to the east-ward, so that we could not fetch any part of England. And, hereupon, also, an allowance of drink which was scarce enough before, became yet less, and less so; insomuch that now a man was allowed but half a pint at a meal, and that, many times scarce sweet. This, notwithstanding, was an happy estate in comparison of that which followed; for, from half a pint, we came to a quarter, neither did that last long; so that by reason of this great scarcity of drink, and contrariety of wind, we thought to put into Ireland, there to relieve our wants. But when we came near thither, we were driven so far to leeward, that we could fetch no part of it. In the mean time, we were allowed, every man, three or four spoonfuls of vinegar, to drink at a meal; for, of other drink we had none, saving only at two, or three meals, when we had instead hereof as much wine, which was wringed out of wine-leaves, that remained. With this hard fare (for, by reason of our great want of drink, we durst eat but very little,) we continued for a fortnight; saving that now, and then, we feasted when there fell any hail, or rain. The hail-stones we gathered up, and did eat them more pleasantly than if they had been the sweetest comfits in this world. The rain-drops were so carefully saved that, so near as we could, not one was lost, in all our ship. Some hanged up sheets tied with cords by the four corners, and a weight in the midst, that the water might run down thither, and so be received into some vessel set, or hanged underneath: some that wanted sheets,

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"hanged up napkins, and clouts, and watched them
 "until they were thoroughly wet, then wringing, and
 "sucking out the water. And that water which fell
 "down, and washed away the filth, and soiling of the
 "ship, was trodden under foot, and became as bad as
 "if it had been running down the kennel, many
 "times, when it rained, was not lost, but watched,
 "and attended carefully, yea, sometimes with strife,
 "and contention, at every scupper-hole, and other
 "places where it ran down, with dishes, pots, cans,
 "and jars, whereof some drank hearty draughts, even
 "as it was, mud and all, without tarrying to cleanse,
 "or settle it. Others cleansed it first, but not often,
 "for, it was so thick, and went so slowly through, that
 "they might ill endure to tarry so long, and were loth
 "to lose too much of that precious stuff. Some licked,
 "with their tongues, like dogs, the boards under their
 "feet, the sides, rails, and masts of the ship. O-
 "thers, that were more ingenious, fastened girdles, or
 "ropes, about the masts, daubing tallow between
 "them, and the masts, that the rain might not run
 "down between, in such sort that those ropes, or gir-
 "dles, hanging lower on one side than the other, a
 "spout of leather was fastened to the lowest part of
 "them, that all the rain-drops that came running
 "down the masts, might meet together, at that place,
 "and there be received. Some also put bullets of lead
 "into their mouths to slake their thirst. Now, in
 "every corner of the ship, were heard the lamenta-
 "ble cries of sick and wounded men, sounding wo-
 "fully in our ears, pitifully complaining for want of
 "drink, being ready to die, yea, many dying for lack
 "thereof, so as by reason of this great extremity, we
 "lost many more men than we had done all the voy-
 "age before."

During

During these bitter trials of affliction, the conduct of the earl of Cumberland was full of fortitude, and resignation; nor did he once refuse to bear an ample share in those distresses which were experienced by the meanest of the sailors. When the English were driven to the last extremities, and had abandoned hope, a vessel appeared in sight, and bearing down upon them. Their joy was beyond all bounds when they perceived that she displayed the colours of their own nation. Scarcely was she within hail, when they exclaimed that they were on the point of perishing, and implored for immediate relief. Their wishes were now gratified, and they obtained such a quantity of provisions as lasted until they had reached the coast of Ireland. Having supplied themselves with all necessities from an adjacent port, they proceeded on their return to England, and arrived safely at Falmouth, on the twenty-ninth of December, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-nine (*k*).

As the circumstances relating to the engagement in the bay of Fyal afford such striking instances of the pusillanimity of the Spaniards, and the romantic bravery of the English, we shall present the reader with a detail of them, in the words of a distinguished officer (*l*), who bore an active share in the successes of the day.

"When I served as vice-admiral under the earl of Cumberland, to the Azores, we came to Flores, the westernmost island of the seven. My lord had no-

"tice

(*k*) The particulars relating to the expedition to the Azores, are taken from Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 686.—Hackluyt, v. 2. part 2. p. 155.—Purchas's Pilgrims, v. 4. p. 1142.—Lediard's naval History, v. 1. p. 270.—and chiefly from Sir William Monson's naval tracts.

(*l*) Sir William Monson.

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“ tice of certain ships, riding in the road of Fyal, to
 “ the southward of which island, he had passed eight
 “ days before. Upon this news, he hastened thither,
 “ both to be resolved of the truth thereof, and to make
 “ an attempt upon the ships, if he could see a possi-
 “ bility to prevail. But, on his arrival, in two days
 “ afterwards, a calm took him towards the evening,
 “ and he was not able to reach within two leagues of
 “ the road where the ships lay. Hereupon a council
 “ was called, wherein I, and captain Lister very earn-
 “ estly proposed, and, by intreaty, prevailed that we
 “ might have leave, in that calm, to row to the road,
 “ to take a view of the ships, in order that we might
 “ perceive where to obtain advantages, by surprizing
 “ them early on the morrow.”

“ As we drew near the Spaniards, the dashing of
 “ our oars was heard, which gave the alarm to the
 “ admiral-ship, which only wore the flag, and in-
 “ stantly let fly her ordnance, without any certain
 “ aim, more than the dashing of the oars directed.
 “ Captain Lister, and I, seeing ourselves missed by the
 “ shot, were so encouraged that, rather like mad, than
 “ discreet men, we ran aboard the admiral-ship,
 “ with an intent suddenly to surprize her; but, find-
 “ ing so great an inequality in our forces, (for, the
 “ ship carried eighteen pieces of ordnance,) we were
 “ glad to put off our boat, and retire, repenting of our
 “ enterprize.”

“ As we were rowing again towards our fleet, which,
 “ all this while, beheld the fight, and heard the re-
 “ port of the ships ordnance, we met another boat,
 “ of greater burthen, sent to succour us. After a joy-
 “ ful salutation, we resolved, and concluded to return
 “ again with our boats, and give a second assault upon
 “ the admiral, telling them the state, and condition,

“ of

“ of the ship, which did so encourage both the one,
 “ and the other, that, by consent, it was agreed that
 “ they should board her in the quarter, and we in
 “ the hawse, and we to cut her cable, and let her
 “ drive to sea. All this was successfully performed,
 “ and the ship miraculously possessed, notwithstanding
 “ the continual shot from the castle, to which the ship
 “ was moored; and which castle we took, in a month
 “ afterwards. I must not forget that as we entered the
 “ admiral-ship, on the one side, the Spaniards leaped
 “ overboard, on the other, except the captain, Don
 “ Juan de Palma, and one more.

“ Now, having got an unexpected victory, rather
 “ by valour, than by reason, we towed out the ship
 “ with our two boats, the castle not sparing to fire at
 “ us, until we brought her without reach of the shot,
 “ and then we agreed to take out all our men, except
 “ one at the helm to govern her, and struck down her
 “ sails; and we ourselves returned in our boats, once
 “ more into the road, where we possessed ourselves of
 “ the other seven ships left behind, three of which
 “ were of a reasonable good value.”

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-one, the earl of Cumberland departed on a second expedition, with a small squadron, which consisted of the following ships; the *Garland*, (admiral,) of the burthen of six hundred tons (*m*); the *Sampson*, (vice-admiral,) of the burthen of two hundred, and sixty tons; the *Golden Noble*, (rear-admiral,) the *Allegartta*; and a small pinnace, called the *Discovery*.

After a short cruize, the English took two prizes. The first was laden with sugar, and on her passage from the

(*m*) This ship belonged to the royal navy, and was lent to the earl, by the queen. The remainder of the squadron was fitted out at his own expence.

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the island of Saint Thomas. She was discovered to have a quantity of water in the hull, yet no leak could be perceived. The earl, concluding that she must quickly sink, secured the cargo, and then directed that she should be turned adrift. The other vessel, having been long detained in her course to England, by contrary winds, was obliged, on account of the great scarcity of provisions, to enter a Spanish harbour, and, was immediately taken.

Soon after this event, the English intercepted, and seized two Dutch vessels, when Sir William Monson, the commander of the *Golden Noble*, was ordered to take them under convoy, and proceed to Plymouth. In the night, they were becalmed, and some gallies belonging to the port of Penicha, rowed up, engaged, and took them. The report of the artillery was heard by the earl of Cumberland, who, by the want of wind, was prevented from making sail to their relief. During the course of the action, which ended in the loss of the two prizes, captain Bayly was slain, and Monson and his associates were carried prisoners to Penicha, and from thence conveyed to Lisbon. The earl immediately wrote to the arch-duke Albert, (who, at that period, was the viceroy,) requesting that the English might be humanely treated, and threatening to retaliate any injuries which they might suffer, with double severity, upon the Spaniards. Albert, either intimidated by the message, or pursuing the natural generosity of his temper, supplied the mariners, and soldiers with new cloathing, and sent them thus equipped to the earl of Cumberland, but detained Sir William Monson, and six officers, as hostages for the ransom of the rest.

Whilst the English were cruizing near the coast, they received intelligence that a formidable Armada

was assembled at the Groyne, and waited only for orders to sail, and intercept a squadron under the command of the lord Thomas Howard, who was stationed near the Azores, for the purpose of surprizing the West-Indian plate-fleet, on its return to Europe. The Moon-Shine (a vessel which had joined the earl of Cumberland soon after his departure from the coast of England,) was accordingly dispatched to give the lord Howard notice of the preparations of the enemy (*n*). At her return, the earl proceeded homewards with his squadron, and, shortly afterwards, arrived at Plymouth (*o*).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-two, the earl of Cumberland was again engaged in the necessary equipments for a fifth expedition, but declined the offer which the queen made him of a vessel from the royal navy, from an apprehension that he might lose some opportunities of taking valuable prizes, when under the necessity of submitting to a strict order that no ship particularly belonging to Elizabeth should be suffered to fall close along side of a Spanish vessel, lest both might be destroyed by fire. The squadron employed on this occasion was hired from the merchants of the port of London, and consisted of the Tyger, of the burthen of six hundred tons, the Sampson, the Golden Noble, and two small vessels.

The long duration of unfavourable winds, and the consequent expenditure of provisions, during three months, in different harbours, were circumstances which prevented the earl of Cumberland from taking the com-

(*n*) See the second volume of this work, pages 311, 312.

(*o*) Harris's Coll. Part 1, p. 686.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1145.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts.—MS. in Bibl. Cotton.

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command of this naval armament. Previous to the period at which the ships had proceeded to the westward of the port of Plymouth, the opportunity of intercepting the outward-bound Spanish carracks was entirely lost, and our adventurer, thus baffled in his most important views, returned to London, after having transferred the chief command to captain Norton, who was instructed to sail immediately to the Azores.

On their passage to these islands, the English intercepted, and took a Portuguese vessel, within view of the fortress of Cascais, and, soon afterwards the Golden Noble set sail with her for Plymouth. The rest of the squadron came to an anchor at the Azores, from whence, having procured fresh water, and provisions, they departed in order to intercept the Santa Croce, a Portuguese carrack, freighted with silver, and merchandize of immense value. The commander of this vessel, observing that his enemies were in sight, and giving chase, crowded every sail, and stood towards the port of Angra, in Tercera. On the passage, he observed an English man of war bearing down upon him, and therefore, to avoid the dangers which surrounded him, was reduced to the necessity of altering his course, and attempted to recover the road of Lagowna, near the southern extremity of the isle of Flores.

Towards the night, the weather changed, and so great was the violence of the tempest, that no ships belonging to the English squadron were able to carry sails sufficient for the purpose of coming up with the carrack; which, soon afterwards, cast anchor near the shore, and was unladen by the Portuguese, who, next, loaded her great guns, and then set fire to her, from an apprehension that she might otherwise have been taken by the enemy. The discharge of ordnance did no material injury to the English, and, captain

Norton, who judged that by immediately disembarking with his associates, he might be able to seize the valuable effects which had been landed from the carrack, gave orders that preparations should be made for the execution of his design. Accordingly, a select number of the crew were supplied with arms, and, proceeded under the command of Norton, in several boats, towards the shore. Having gained it, they took possession of the plate, and merchandize, after a short, and feeble opposition from the Portuguese. They, next, attacked the town, and reduced it with still greater ease, as the majority of the inhabitants, yielding to the first impulse of their consternation, had fled into the country.

On the third of August, the English intercepted the *Madre de Dios*, another carrack, more large, and valuable than the former. The action was maintained with equal obstinacy, and resolution, during the space of nearly two hours, when the Portuguese submitted to the mercy of the conquerors. Eager to seize the plunder, the English ran from place, to place, with lighted candles in their hands, and during the confusion which ensued, a cabin, filled with powder barrels, was accidentally set on fire. Inattentive to this impending calamity, numbers were still busied in their search for treasure; and, if Norton, with equal prudence, and intrepidity, had not attended solely to circumstances more important than the seizure of the booty, and intirely extinguished the flames which were beginning to spread around the cabin, every man on board must inevitably have perished.

No sooner had the crews secured the cargo than they engaged in violent altercations concerning the division of the spoil. All, to whatsoever ship they might belong, asserted that they were intitled to a share;

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share; and the individuals on board a vessel particularly in the service of the queen, made stronger, and more undeniable pretensions than the rest. If the earl of Cumberland had received his dividend, in proportion to the expences which he incurred, it is more than probable that he must have gained at least a million sterling; but, as he did not act in person, and his commission had not provided for the case of his return, it was adjudged that he was not intitled to a share, and could have no expectations, but from the generosity of Elizabeth, who permitted him to receive thirty-six thousand pounds, and warned him to consider this liberality as a matter of unprecedented favour (*p*).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-three, the earl of Cumberland prepared for a sixth expedition, and, at his own expence, fitted out the following vessels; the *Golden Lion*, (admiral;) the *Bonaventure*, (vice-admiral;) the *Anthony*, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons; the *Pilgrim*, of the burthen of one hundred tons; the *Chaldon*, and the *Discovery*. Of this squadron, the earl took the command; and, under him, as vice, and rear-admirals, were Sir Edward York, and Sir William Monson.

The two first prizes taken after the departure of the ships from England were French vessels, in the service of the League, and freighted with such rich cargoes that their value was rated at thrice the sum of the expences of the voyage. Soon afterwards, the *Golden Lion* was separated from the fleet, and intercepted twelve hulks, the commanders of which presuming on their superior force, refused to pay the customary

(*p*) Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 687.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1147.—Lediard's naval History, V. 1. Folio, p. 289, 290.

honours to the English flag. This disrespect was immediately followed by hostilities, and, at the close of a furious engagement, which lasted during the space of two hours, the admiral of the hulks displayed a flag of truce, sent an officer on board the *Golden Lion*, with humble acknowledgments of his error, and not only took in his colours, and struck his top-sails, but made a voluntary confession that the squadron under his command was laden with ammunition, and powder for the service of the king of Spain. These the earl immediately secured, and then suffered the hulks to proceed upon their voyage.

On the day following, the English took a light vessel, that had been cruising on the seas, in order to make discoveries for a powerful Armada, which was then stationed at the distance of a few leagues. From the account given by the captain of this prize, the earl was convinced of the necessity of avoiding an enemy whom it was impossible to oppose, and conquer. he therefore determined to quit so dangerous a station, but, being suddenly attacked by a violent indisposition, prepared for a return to England, whilst the *Anthony*, commanded by captain James Lancon, the *Pilgrim*, under captain Francis Slingsby, and the *Discovery*, proceeded on their voyage to the West-Indies.

Having procured fresh water, and provisions, at the island of Saint Lucia, the English resolved to attack the town of Margarita, for the purpose of seizing the produce of the pearl fisheries, which were carried on near seven small villages, to each of which the Spaniards removed by turns, and, in consequence of the variations in their prospects of success. All the valuable pearls were conveyed monthly to Margarita, situated at the distance of three leagues from the water side.

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During the day-time, the English were cautious of approaching near the intended scene of action, lest, being too soon discovered, they might be prevented from executing their designs. At night, they disembarked, and marched to two of the fisheries, which were both empty, and deserted. Soon afterwards, they were so fortunate as to seize a Spaniard, and forced him to conduct them to a third fishery, at which his countrymen were then employed. The captains Lancton, and Slingsby, at the head of twenty-eight men, proceeded by land, whilst the boats fell down the river, in order that if it should appear necessary, they might cover their retreat. This party was divided into three bodies, for the purpose of making attacks in different places, at the same time; a measure not necessary on this occasion, when the Spaniards threw down their arms, and fled for shelter into the woods. The English having seized a quantity of pearls, which were estimated at the sum of two thousand pounds, retired, unresisted, to a neighbouring village, where they remained during the following night. At break of day, they went on board the fishing boats, and regaled on oysters, the pearls of which were of great value. These also they secured, and immediately embarking, sailed into the harbour before the town, and compelled the Spaniards to pay a composition in pearls, equal to two thousand ducats, and thus preserve their houses from being reduced to ashes.

The adjacent islands were now alarmed, and all the inhabitants, together with the troops, prepared for their defence. At Cumana, the Spanish forces were so numerous that the English sailed by without the least delay, and, having coasted along Terra Firma, arrived at Rio della Hacha, from whence the natives, equally

enabled to make a vigorous resistance, had sent their valuable commodities to be concealed in caverns, on the summits of the mountains. Thus baffled in their enterprizes, captain Norton, and his associates proceeded successively to Hispaniola, Cape Tuberone, the bay of Saint Nicholas, fort Saint Plat, Mona, and the island of Savona. From thence, they steered their course to the river Socco, at the distance of nearly five leagues to the eastward of Saint Domingo, and, having sailed far up the river, attacked the large houses which had been constructed, by the Spanish planters, on the adjoining shore. These the English threatened to reduce to ashes, but the owners, by rich presents, prevailed on their invaders to desist from the execution of such dreadful purposes. When they had received a supply of Bullocks, Cassavi meal, fruits, several valuable commodities, the English proceeded to the dwellings on the river Marracava, from the inhabitants of which they extorted all the choicest articles of their merchandize.

They next sailed to Saint Domingo, Jamaica, and Cuba, from the last of which places the Pilgrim departed on her voyage homewards, whilst the Anthony, accompanied by the frigate, sailed towards the bay of Honduras. Arriving in the road of Puerto de Cavallos, they intercepted seven Spanish ships, the least of which was of the burthen of one hundred and eighty tons. After an engagement of nearly twenty-four hours, the Spaniards deserted their vessels, and, having taken away the rudders, escaped in boats to the adjacent land. Their conquerors set fire to the whole fleet, except the admiral-ship, of the burthen of two hundred and fifty tons, which they freighted with the most valuable articles, selected from all the cargoes, and then proceeded with her for Plymouth, where they

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they arrived, on the fifteenth of May, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-four (*q*).

In the spring of the same year, the earl of Cumberland had fitted out, at his own expence, a small Squadron, of which the following were the ships: the Royal Exchange, (admiral, of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, and commanded by captain George Cave; the May-flower, (vice-admiral,) of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, and commanded by captain William Anthony; and the Sampson, (rear-admiral,) commanded by captain Nicholas Downton. These, attended by a caravel, and a small pinnace, set sail from Plymouth, on the sixth of April, and, in few days from their departure, intercepted, and took a small bark, laden with Galicia wine, and other articles of merchandize. After this event, they proceeded on their passage, and, at the commencement of the month of June, arrived within sight of the island of Saint Michael.

On the twelfth the English descried, and immediately gave chase to a large Carrack, which soon took in her sails, and prepared for battle. When the May-flower, the headmost of the squadron, had arrived within reach of her artillery, she discharged a broad-side, but the shot were so ill directed that no material injury ensued. The night was now advanced, and the May-flower must have been obliged to sheer off, if the Sampson, and, soon afterwards, the Royal Exchange, had not sailed to her assistance. The action lasted during a considerable time; and, at length, the stern, and fore-castle of the carrack were set on fire by the cannon of the May-flower. The flames ascended to
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(*q*) Sir William Monson's naval tracts.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1147.—Harris's Coll. Part 2. p. 687.—Lediard's naval history, V. 1. Folio. p. 299, 300.

so great a height that the fore-sail, and fore-top-sail of this last ship were entirely consumed, neither could the Spaniards, who were severely annoyed by the musketry of their adversaries, find leisure even for an attempt to extinguish the conflagration.

In order to avoid the fatal consequences which were likely to result from this calamity, the Royal Exchange, and the Sampson fell off, leaving the May-flower foul of the sprit-sail-yard of the carrack, and in such danger of being consumed with her, that it was with difficulty, that, assisted by the boats which were employed in towing, she retreated to a securer distance.

The majority of the crew belonging to the carrack were now driven to despair, and intreated their commander, Don Francisco de Melo, to hang out a flag of truce; but, the carpenter, and a small number of the men, more resolute, declared if their associates would endeavour to extinguish the flames, they were prepared to fight to the last extremity. At length, when all hopes of success were vanished, they threw themselves, and their treasures, into the ocean. Several of the officers, who had cast off their golden chains, jewels, and all their raiment, swam to the sides of the English vessels, and, in piteous accents, implored for quarter. Amongst the Spaniards received on board were Don Nuno Velio Pereiras, the governor of Sofala, and Don Bras de Carrero, the commander of a galleon which had been cast away near the coast of Mozambique. These Persons were brought to England, and, afterwards, ransomed. Others might have been received into the ships, if they had not divested themselves of those ornaments which could have gratified the thirst of Plunder, in their adversaries. It was justly observed that they should have swam towards the English with their pearls, and jewels about their

their Necks. The seamen would then have been careful of such valuable persons, and not have suffered them to have sunk, had there appeared a possibility of saving them; but these unhappy wretches had divested themselves of what should have pleaded in their favour; and for want of these advocates perished miserably in the ocean.

The carrack continued burning during the space of twenty-four hours, after the departure of the English; at length, the flames reached sixty barrels of powder which had been placed under the lower deck, and she was blown to pieces.

The number of Spaniards who perished on this occasion, amounted to eleven hundred men. On the side of the English, captain Anthony, and six soldiers were killed, during the course of the action. Captain Cave was severely wounded, and died on his passage homewards. The carrack was larger, and more valuably freighted than the *Madre de Dios*, and, had she fallen into the hands of her adversaries, must have enriched them all, from the commanding officer, to the lowest sailor.

The English next arrived at the isle of Florez, from whence, having obtained a considerable supply of fresh water, and provisions, they set sail for England, and, on the twenty-ninth of June, came up with a large carrack, of the burthen of fifteen hundred tons, and commanded by Don Lewis de Costanio. When this officer was summoned by the English to surrender, he set them at defiance, and immediately proceeded to hostilities. The engagement, which was once only interrupted by a short calm, lasted during the course of several hours, and the carrack was so miserably shattered, that the English might soon have taken her, if, dispirited at the loss of their superior officers, they had
not

not declined the contest, when the advantage was in their favour. After this event, they became anxious to return home, and, in the month of September, arrived at Portsmouth (*r*).

The earl of Cumberland, dissatisfied with the small share which had been allowed to him by the court, out of the treasure which had been taken in the Spanish carrack, called the *Madre de Dios*, and still more displeased at the loss of the two great vessels (commanded by the Dons Francisco de Melo, and Lewis de Costanio,) for want of a sufficient force to take them, constructed, at his own expence, a ship of the burthen of nine hundred tons, and the largest which had ever belonged to any English subject. Elizabeth condescended to appear at Deptford, when she was launched, and named her the *Scourge of Malice* (*s*).

The earl intended to have performed this voyage in his new vessel, accompanied by the captains Monson, and Jarret, in the *Alcedo*, and Anthony, together with a frigate; but, on his arrival at Plymouth, he received a message from the queen, in consequence of which he was obliged to return to London.

The ships were, notwithstanding, directed to proceed upon the enterprize, and captain Landton was appointed admiral, a promotion so offensive to Monson, that he determined to quit the squadron, and cruise alone in the *Alcedo*.

In

(*r*) Harris Coll. V. 1. p. 688.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1147.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts.—MS. in Bibl. Cotton.—Lediard's naval History, V. 1. folio. p. 303, 304.

(*s*) This ship made three voyages in the service of the earl of Cumberland, and was afterwards sold to the East-India Company, for whom (under the name of the *Dragon*,) she made many returns, and was concerned in the capture of several Portuguese vessels.

In the spring of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-five, the Scourge of Malice, the Anthony, and the frigate, sailed to the Azores, where they intercepted, and took a caravel, of the burthen of one hundred tons, and freighted with sugar. Soon afterwards, on their approach to the isle of Flores, they discovered a large vessel, stationed to the leeward, and bearing the colours of the king of Spain. Arriving within hail, they were informed that she was the Saint Thomas, the vice-admiral of an armada, appointed to guard the East, and West-India fleets. An action immediately ensued, during which the English cannonaded the enemy, with such incessant fury, that they were obliged to retreat towards the rest of the squadron, then lying at a short distance. As Lancon observed, that a superior force was so near at hand, he judged it prudent to decline a battle, and sail upon another tack. Accordingly, he steered, unmolested, by the enemy, towards the coast of Spain. Here, they intercepted, and took three Dutch ships, which were lawful prizes, as being laden with wheat, copper, and various kinds of ammunition, and provision, for the service of a power at war with England. After this event, the ships returned in safety, with their prizes, to the port of Plymouth (†).

It may not be improper to conclude the particulars of this expedition, with the reasons of the desertion of Sir William Monson, as given by himself.

“ In this year, I was married ; but, previous to this
 “ event, I engaged myself by promise to attend the
 “ earl of Cumberland, as his vice-admiral, to sea.
 “ His lordship went in the Scourge of Malice, a stout
 “ vessel,

(†) Harris's Collection, V. 1. p. 688 — Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1148. — Lediards naval history, V. 1. folio, p. 317, 318.

" vessel, constructed at his own expence. His vice-
 " admiral ship was the Alcedo, which had been hired
 " of the merchants."

" Now, I began to have a proof of what I had before
 " just cause to suspect; the inconstant friendship of
 " the earl of Cumberland. For, although I was drawn
 " by his sweet words, and promises, to this voyage,
 " and we had proceeded upon it so far as Plymouth,
 " and, from thence, eight, or nine leagues to sea, to-
 " wards the coast of Spain, without imparting, or mak-
 " ing shew of any circumstance to me, he suddenly
 " relinquished the voyage (*u*), and appointed another
 " captain for his own ship, which so much displeased
 " me for the present, that I abandoned the company of
 " his ship, at sea, and betook myself to my own ad-
 " venture. This afterwards bred a quarrel, between
 " the earl and me, and it was a long time before that
 " we were reconciled."

" My voyage produced no danger either of fa-
 " mine, or of the sword, as other voyages had done.
 " The worst enemy I found were storms, and such as
 " compelled me to cut my main-mast by the board,
 " and bear away for England. After I had weathered
 " the coast of Spain, the storm held on so outrageous-
 " ly, and was of such long continuance, that I was
 " driven to Spain, before the Sea, betwixt the Groyne,
 " in Galicia, and Blavet, in Bretagne, which was, at
 " that period, in the hands of the Spaniards. The
 " sea was so high, and the waves so powerful, that
 " they raked me fore and aft, for want of a main-
 " mast to keep the ship steady; so that for many days
 " together, I expected nothing but to founde at sea.

" Yet

(*u*) This passage seems to contradict a preceding assertion
 that the earl was recalled by Elizabeth.

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"Yet it pleased God that I should, at length, arrive
"in safety, at Plymouth"

In the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-six, the earl of Cumberland again equipped the Scourge of Malice, and proceeded on a ninth expedition, accompanied by the Dreadnought, a ship belonging to the royal navy, and some other small vessels. At the distance of thirty leagues from the coast of England, a violent storm arose, during which the Scourge of Malice was shattered, that she lost her main-mast, and became unfit for service. The earl therefore returned immediately to England, in the Dreadnought.

At this period, the earl of Essex, and the lord Howard, high-admiral of England, were directed by Elizabeth to proceed towards the coast of Spain, with a formidable fleet, consisting of ships selected from the navy, and a squadron of Flemish men of war (x). The earl unwilling to neglect so favourable an opportunity of making valuable captures, fitted out the Ascension, of the burthen of three hundred tons, carrying thirty-four pieces of artillery, and manned with one hundred, and twenty mariners, and soldiers. The captain was Francis Slingsby, who received orders to cruize for such vessels as might be on their passage from the port of Lisbon.

Thus equipped, the Ascension proceeded on the voyage, and soon after her departure, was in danger of being lost, during the violence of the tempest, and drove, with two anchors a-head, until she had approached within the length of three cables of the Goodwin Sands. The English let fall their sheet-anchor, and held by it until noon of the succeeding day, expecting that
every

(x) See the second volume of this work, and from page 329, to page 389.

every moment would prove their last. As their situation became more alarming, it was judged necessary to cut the cables, and endeavour to stand out to sea. This they fortunately effected, and returned, on the day following to Plymouth.

Having repaired the damages which the *Ascension* had sustained, they renewed their course, and meeting with a caravel, quitted their ship, which was left under the care of a small number of the mariners, and, entering into their boats, began a furious attack, during which captain Slingsby was severely wounded. The engagement might have ended in the capture of the Caravel, if Siriago, the Spanish admiral, who was stationed at a short distance, had not sent six ships to her relief, and, soon afterwards, arrived himself, in a large galleon, with which, assisted by the other vessels, he attempted to board the *Ascension*. The Spaniards leaped into the fore, and main chains, imagining that they could have found an easy entrance into the ship, but were bravely, and effectually repulsed by the English, who, observing that numbers were assembled under the half-deck of the galleon, discharged amongst them several vollies of small shot, by which many were killed and wounded. Several, more pusillanimous than their associates, had concealed themselves at the commencement of the action, but being discovered, were forced to appear on deck; and, to prevent their escape, the captain directed that only the surgeon, carpenter, and cooper, should be permitted to go down into the hold, and that afterwards, the hatchways should be closed.

On the day following, the Spanish admiral bore down again, and appeared determined to renew the contest, but when he observed that the English were

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eagerly preparing for resistance, he tacked about, and proceeded immediately towards Lisbon.

The Ascension continued near the coast, until all the provisions (except a small quantity, which could not have lasted longer than during the space of three weeks,) were entirely expended. She then returned to England, but was not accompanied by any prize to compensate for the dangers to which she had been exposed, or the damage that she had suffered (y).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety eight, the earl of Cumberland proceeded on a tenth expedition, which was considerably more important than any of the former (z). Exclusive of naval officers,

(y) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1148.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. folio, p. 346, 347.

(z) Of the ships which composed his fleet, and were chiefly equipped at his own expence, the following is a List.

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.
The Scourge of Malice, Admiral.	Earl of Cumberland. Under him, on the outward-bound passage, captain John Watts; and, on the homeward bound passage, captain James Lancaster.
Merchant-Royal, vice-admiral.	Sir John Berkley.
Ascension, rear-admiral.	Captain Robert Flicke.
Samson.	Captain Henry Clifford, who died, and was succeeded by captain Christopher Colthurst.
Alcedo.	Captain James Ley, and, on the homeward bound passage, captain Thomas Cotch.
Consent.	Captain Francis Slingsby.

cers, he was attended by a gallant train of land commanders, amongst whom Sir John Berkley was the lieutenant-general. On the sixth of March, the whole armament set sail from Plymouth, and soon after their departure, the earl received information that five car-racks more valuably freighted than any which had been ever sent to India, were on the point of sailing, under the convoy of twenty-five ships, which were all bound for the Braziles. A disposition was immediately made for intercepting, and attacking them; but the English had the mortification to discover that their intentions were not concealed from the Spaniards, who had dis-

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SHIPS.

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Centurion.

Galleon Constance.

Affection.

Guiana.

Scout.

Anthony.

Pegasus.

Royal Defence.

Margaret and John.

Barkley Bay.

An old frigate.

Exclusive of these, were two barges for the purpose of disembarking the soldiers.

COMMANDERS.

Captain James Lancton, and
on the homeward-bound
passage, captain John
Watts.

Captain Henry Palmer, and,
on the homeward-bound
passage, his son, captain
William Palmer.

Captain Hercules Folyambe.

Captain Fleming.

Captain Christ. Colthurst,
and, on the homeward-
bound passage, captain
Gerrard Middleton.

Captain Henry Joliffe.

Captain Robert Careles, who
died, and was succeeded
by captain Andrew Ah-
drews.

Captain Edward Goodwin.

Captain Henry Bromley.

Captain John Dixon.

Captain John Ley.

Captain William Harper.

patched their light frigates to the different harbours, along the coast, in order to prevent the carracks, and other vessels, from proceeding on their voyages. Previous to this event, the English had taken a ship belonging to the port of Hamburgh, and a merchantman in the service of the French. The first was laden with corn, copper, powder, and other prohibited commodities. The cargo of the second consisted solely of salt.

The earl of Cumberland, convinced that it would be in vain to wait longer either for the carracks, or the Brazil ships, set sail, with his whole fleet, for the South Cape, after having taken two Flemish vessels, freighted with corn. Passing by the Canaries, he proceeded to the island of Lancerota, and, on his arrival, attacked, reduced, and plundered it. It was then commanded by a Spanish nobleman, whose property was immense, and who exerted every species of tyranny over the submissive, and unfortunate inhabitants of this, and the adjacent island of Forlaventura. The governor resided in a strong castle, constructed with stones, and accessible only by ladders. It was fortified on all sides, and the ramparts were crowded with pieces of artillery. Within, this officer was guarded by two hundred soldiers, and domestics; and yet, although twenty men might, with ease, have defended the citadel against thirty times the number of opponents, the Spaniards fled, without having made the least resistance, and left it in possession of the English. The town, (which consisted of an hundred houses,) the church, and the monastery of friars, were likewise abandoned to the mercy of the conquerors. At this place, the plunder was of little value.

From Lancerota, the English set sail, on the twenty-first of April, for Dominica, and the Virgin islands. At

the former of these places, they disembarked, on the twenty-third of May, and remained there until the first of June. Previous to their departure, one of the captains, attended by a small number of the soldiers, went up the river, and landed at an Indian town, where they were hospitably entertained by the chief-tain of the place. It was at the Virgin Islands, that the earl of Cumberland, having assembled his officers, and the chief persons belonging to his fleet, declared his intentions to direct his martial operations against Saint Juan de Puerto Ricco.

On the sixth of June, the English arrived at this place, when their admiral disembarked, at the head of a thousand men, and immediately advanced to the scene of action. They were obliged to march, attended by a negro, who was their guide, over high rocks, and dreadful precipices. Between these, and the island, on which the town stood, was a small arm of the sea; and the English, who were not provided with boats, despaired of crossing it. At length, they discovered a narrow causeway, terminated by a bridge, which was drawn up. Beyond it, the enemy had constructed a battery, and, at a short distance from the spot, a lofty fortress commanded the whole causeway, into which the Spaniards could discharge the shot from their artillery, and small arms. As the pass was exceedingly obstructed, the English chose rather to wade through the water, by the side of it.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, which were augmented by the Sultriness of the day, the darkness of the night, and the necessary absence of the earl of Cumberland (a), the soldiers resolutely pressed on to a gate

(a) He was obliged to retire, in consequence of the bruises which he had received by a fall from the precipice into

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gate which stood in front of the battery, and began to hew it down with bills, and hatchets. During this enterprize, the Spaniards kept up an incessant firing, and their assailants were obliged to retreat, after having stood, for a long space of time, up to their waists in water. The next attack was more successful. Whilst a party of musketeers drove the enemy from their ordnance, on the one side, several pike-men rowed towards that part of the shore, which was situated between the fortress, and the town. It was owing to the good conduct, and intrepidity of the first body, that the last disembarked, without any material opposition, and, joining their associates, proceeded to the attack. The Spaniards now became intimidated, and not only deserted the outworks, but intirely evacuated the town. Fort Mora, a place of great strength, and two citadels, the one situated near the entrance of Puerto Ricco, and the other at the western extremity of it, surrendered to the besiegers, and left them in the undisturbed possession of every place.

The town, considerably more spacious within the fortifications than Portsmouth, was filled with broad streets, the chief edifices of which made a grand appearance; and, amongst these, the most magnificent were the cathedral, and a friary. As the Spaniards had been accustomed to make Puerto Ricco, the great avenue to the continent of America, the earl intimated to his associates a design of putting it into a strong posture of defence, and of maintaining ships within the harbour, in order that they might be ready to cruize against the enemy. The execution of this measure was recommended with equal ardour by the whole

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into the sea, and it was with difficulty that, incumbered by the weight of armour, he swam to shore.

company, and those individuals were esteemed particularly fortunate whose names were inserted in the list of future residents on the spot. The earl now obliged all the former inhabitants to depart, notwithstanding that they offered him five hundred pounds sterling, exclusive of gold, and silver, in massy services of plate, and many different articles of valuable merchandize, for a permission to dwell within the town.

At the commencement of the preparations made by this illustrious adventurer for an establishment at Puerto Ricco, an unexpected calamity put a period to his enterprizes. A dreadful disorder broke out amongst the English, and raged with such violence that numbers expired within a short time from the first appearance of infection, and the remainder proved insufficient for the purposes of keeping possession of the place, and of navigating the fleet to England. At the debarkation, the earl had mustered more than one thousand men; but, such ravages had ensued from epidemical distempers, that scarcely five hundred of his associates remained alive. The persons chosen to reside at Puerto Ricco were now dispirited by calamities which yet threatened to prove fatal to the whole, and earnestly intreated their commander that they might be suffered to depart. With this request, he willingly complied, but judged it politic to keep possession of the place, until he should have obtained a considerable ransom from the Spaniards. Concerning the mode of raising the sums which it might be necessary to advance, They desired some time for deliberation, and their subsequent behaviour convinced the English that they had secretly resolved to evade the payment of any composition, and, at the first favourable opportunity, to attempt, by force of arms to take possession of the island.

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At this period, a caravel, freighted with pearls, which amounted to the value of a thousand Ducats, came into the harbour, and was seized, in consequence of an order from the earl of Cumberland. She had arrived from Margarita, on her passage to Spain; and the hopes of being suffered to proceed to that Kingdom, had induced the captain to confess that the pearl-chests, at the former place, were not only of immense value, but so carelessly guarded that they might be plundered by a small number of brave adventurers, with impunity. On the fifteenth of July, the day when the earl of Cumberland received this welcome information, three ships, the officers, and crews of which, were directed to attempt the seizure of the pearls, set sail from Margarita; but, as this place lay south-east, and by south, from Puerto Ricco, and the winds blew constantly in the summer either east-south-east, or south-east, and by east, the ships were driven back into the port, and the enterprize was entirely relinquished. Previous to the return of the ships, another vessel, bound from Angola, in Africa, and filled with negroes, entered the harbour, and was taken by the English.

When the earl of Cumberland discovered that the repeated delays of the Spaniards concerning the settlement of the ransom were not likely to be terminated, and that they ceased to look with all their former terror on enemies whom sickness had enfeebled, he set sail (b) from Puerto Ricco, leaving more than half of the fleet, under the command of Sir John Berkley, who on this occasion was intrusted with discretionary powers.

The two great ships which attended the earl were the Scourge of Malice, and the Samson. The remain-

(b) August 14th. A. D. 1598.

der of the division consisted of smaller vessels ; and these were the Royal Defence, the Elizabeth, the Guiana, the frigate, two small transports, a French Pin- nace, and a Spanish galley, which he found in the harbour of Puerto Ricco. The Ascension, the Constance, the Alcedo, the Consent, the Pegasus, the Centurion, and two fly-boats, all of which composed the strength of the fleet, were left with Sir John Berkley. One great motive for the departure of the earl was the anxious inclination which he had felt to arrive speedily at the islands, where he hoped to intercept either the Mexico fleet, or several of the carracks. That he did not reach Flores, until they had sailed from thence appears to have been a fortunate event, as they were under the convoy of twenty large Spanish men of war ; a force too powerful for the opposition of his Squadron. It is equally uncertain how long Sir John Berkley remained at Puerto Ricco, after the departure of the earl of Cumberland, and in what manner the treaty with the Spaniards relative to the payment of the ransom was concluded. We are only informed that each division of the fleet was in danger of being lost during the violence of a tempest, and together entered the port of Flores. From thence, they renewed their course, on the sixteenth of September, and arrived at Portsmouth, in October, of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-eight.

Thus ended the last voyage of this illustrious adventurer, whose abilities were equally conspicuous in the different departments of the soldier, and the Statesman, Alike versed in the art of governing, and every branch of naval, and military Science, he acquired an exalted reputation in consequence of those services which he had rendered to Elizabeth, and her subjects, in war, and peace. Fortune frowned upon his enterprizes. If
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his successes had been proportioned to his merit, talents, and well-concerted projects, his character must have stood as high as that of any of his contemporaries. The vast expenses which he had incurred by the construction, and equipment of vessels, had considerably impaired his income, and the only profitable acquisition, which he made was at Puerto Ricco. This consisted of hides, ginger, sugar, eighty pieces of iron ordnance, and pearls, the value of which amounted to a thousand ducats.

The most important result of this expedition may be traced in the losses felt by the king of Spain, whose carracks were prevented from making their voyage to the Indies, and whose plate-fleet was detained, during the course of a whole year, in the harbours of America.

Amongst the adventurers who served under the earl of Cumberland, six hundred died of an epidemical disorder, at Puerto Ricco. Forty were drowned at that calamitous period when the Pegasus, and the old frigate were dashed to pieces. The vessels lost were a barge, sunk in the haven, for the purpose of injuring the enemy; another barge cast away, during a tempest at the Bermudas; the Pegasus, and the old frigate, the first of which was wrecked on the Goodwin sands, and the last, at Ushant. In return for these must be reckoned the few ships which were taken during the course of the voyage.

We shall conclude this relation with the judicious remarks of a naval officer (c) who was not only the contemporary, but, on some occasions, the associate of the earl of Cumberland.

“The error, committed in the prosecution of this voyage, must be imputed to my lord himself, in
“not

(c) Sir William Monfon.

“ not forecasting how to prevent the hazard, and fears
 “ that might be impediments to his designs; there-
 “ fore, he worthily deserved blame, to present him-
 “ self, and the fleet in the eye of Lisbon, to be there
 “ discovered, knowing that the secret carriage thereof
 “ gave life and hopes to the action. By a familiar
 “ example of a man that being safely seated in a
 “ house, and in danger of an arrest, knows that
 “ catchpoles wait to attack him, and yet notwith-
 “ standing will venture abroad, and not seek to avoid
 “ them; so fared it with the carracks, at that time,
 “ who rather chose to keep themselves in the harbour
 “ than venture upon an unavoidable danger.

“ If my lord had done well, and providently, his
 “ fleet should have been furnished without rumour,
 “ or notice, in several harbours, in England. The
 “ men that went in them need not have known, or im-
 “ agined the design of their voyage, or that they
 “ should have met, to compose a main fleet, until
 “ they were come to the height in which the car-
 “ racks were to sail, and after that, each captain might
 “ have opened his directions, with a special caution
 “ not to appear within sight of the shore, for fear of
 “ discovery. This way (and no other there was,)
 “ would have lulled the Portuguese into security, or at
 “ least, a mistrust might have been avoided, until they
 “ had fallen into their hands.

“ My lord's other hope, if this had failed, was to
 “ give an attempt with his land-forces, either upon
 “ some island, or town, that would have yielded him
 “ wealth and riches, being the chief end of his un-
 “ dertaking. After many propositions made at coun-
 “ cil, his resolution was to make an attempt upon
 “ the island of Puerto Rico, in which island there was
 “ a town of convenient size, and strength, which my

“ lord,

“ lord, not long after, took, and possessed, with little
 “ loss of men, on either side ; because they came to
 “ a composition.

“ Herein lies my part to except against this design
 “ of my lord’s, as I promised in my former relations ;
 “ for, whereas all men’s actions have a reasonable
 “ shew of likelihood of good to redound to them in
 “ their intended enterprizes, yet cannot I conceive
 “ how a land-attempt upon towns could yield my
 “ lord any profit, or the merchants that adventured
 “ with him ; for my lord, by experience, well knew,
 “ having been himself at the taking of some towns,
 “ that they afforded little wealth to the takers ; be-
 “ cause riches of value will be either buried, or se-
 “ cretly conveyed away ; and, for merchandizes of
 “ great bulk, which that poor island yielded, it was
 “ only some few hides, black sugar, and ginger,
 “ which would not amount to any great matter, to
 “ countervail the charge of so costly a voyage.

“ Commonly that island sends out two, or three
 “ ships, of a reasonable burthen, to transport the ear-
 “ ly commodities that it yields ; for although it have
 “ the name of being in the Indies, yet it is a place re-
 “ mote, and unfrequented with traffic, either from
 “ the Indies, or any other place ; or, although the island
 “ should be surprized, at such a season of the year, as
 “ their commodities were ripe, and ready for trans-
 “ portation, yet the value is not to be esteemed, where
 “ so many people that adventured with my lord, were
 “ to look for a dividend, according to their adven-
 “ ture.

“ And yet I will not deny, but by accident, this
 “ island was made worthy of an attempt upon it, by
 “ the example of Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John
 “ Haw-

“ Hawkins, who sailed thither, on their own account,
 “ in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and nine-
 “ ty-five. Their defeat made it the more admired,
 “ and purchased my lord's greater honour, in that he
 “ carried it with a smaller number of men, and less
 “ loss, than Drake was repulsed with.

“ But, because time, and opportunity alter the cir-
 “ cumstances of things, therefore, to satisfy those
 “ common, and vulgar people, who judge according to
 “ events, and not according to reason, let us under-
 “ stand the difference, and the cause that made the
 “ difference, betwixt Sir Francis Drake, in the year,
 “ one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-five, and
 “ the earl of Cumberland, in the year, one thousand,
 “ five hundred, and ninety-eight,

“ Sir Francis Drake was commanded thither by di-
 “ rections from the queen; not that she expected
 “ profit, or benefit from the island, which she well
 “ knew, of itself, was unworthy of any enterprize;
 “ but what she did was upon intelligence that she re-
 “ ceived of a Galleon of plate, which, with the loss of
 “ her mast, was forced into that island.

“ In the mean time, five frigates were preparing,
 “ in Spain, to bring home that treasure; and, in
 “ them, were eight, or nine hundred soldiers, who,
 “ in their course to Puerto Ricco, surprized a pinnace
 “ of Sir Francis Drake's Fleet, that gave intelligence of
 “ his design, as well against that place, as Nombre de
 “ Dios, whither he was bound. By this accident,
 “ his designs were prevented, and the enemy had lei-
 “ sure to fortify, strengthen, and man the towns, with
 “ the soldiers brought in the frigates, which made
 “ Sir Francis Drake suddenly, and dishonourably retire,
 “ with the loss of divers gentlemen, and others of
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“ good quality. The misfortune was supposed to
 “ hasten the death of Sir John Hawkins, who then
 “ died, after he had seen himself thus repulsed.

“ My lord might as well have considered that no
 “ use could be made of the situation of that island, as
 “ of other islands of less value, and riches, there
 “ might be; as, for instance, the Tercera, which,
 “ although the soils yield not that plenty, and profit,
 “ which Puerto Ricco doth, yet, by our inhabiting it,
 “ the Spaniards, and Portuguese would find great an-
 “ noyances, in their return from the Indies, Brasil,
 “ and Guinea, in which seas our ships would conti-
 “ nually lie, and endeavour to cut them off. On the
 “ contrary, Puerto Ricco is seated so lonesomely, that
 “ the inhabitants scarcely had the sight of a ship,
 “ during the whole year.”

This illustrious adventurer was honoured, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-two, with the order of the Garter; a dignity which, during the reign of Elizabeth, was not frequently bestowed, until it had been merited by signal services to the public. He survived the queen, and was much respected by her successor. On the thirtieth of October, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and five, the earl of Cumberland expired, at the Savoy, in London; and his remains were afterwards interred at Skipton-Craven, in the county of York (*d*).

(*d*) The particulars of this expedition are taken from Camden. — Stow. — Speed. — Holingshed. — Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 688. — Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts. — Lediard's Naval History, folio V. 1. p. 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 576, 577.

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M E M O I R S

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THOMAS CAVENDISH, Esq;

THIS celebrated adventurer is supposed by a naval historian (a), to have been descended from that illustrious family, the present chief of which is Duke of Devonshire. He was born at Trimley, in the county of Suffolk, where, in the more youthful part of his life, he possessed a large estate, but afterwards reduced it by those unlimited expences which were necessary to support a vain attempt to eclipse, in gallantry, and magnificence, the nobles who attended on the person of Elizabeth. In order to retrieve his circumstances, he, at the commencement of the war with Spain, availed himself of a general permission from the queen, to cruize against her enemies, and made the necessary preparations for an expedition to the South Seas.

On the twenty-first of July, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-six, he set sail from Plymouth, with three vessels; the *Desire*, of the burthen

(a) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 570.

then of one hundred and twenty tons; the Content, of the burthen of sixty tons; and the Hugh Gallant, of the burthen of forty tons. These were equipped at his own expence, supplied with necessaries for the space of two years, and manned with one hundred and twenty-three persons, inclusive of the mariners and soldiers, over all of whom, Cavendish presided with the rank of admiral.

On the twenty-fifth of August, these adventurers arrived at Sierra Leona, where they ravaged a town belonging to the negroes, in revenge for the death of one of their associates, who had been wounded with an envenomed arrow. From hence, they departed, on the sixth of September, and arrived, soon afterwards, at one of the islands of Cape de Verd.

On the thirty-first of October, as they were sailing west-south-west, and, at the distance of twenty-four leagues from Cape Trio, in Brasil, they fell in with a lofty mountain, situated between two islands. On the first of November, and, in the southern latitude of twenty-four degrees, they disembarked, near the island of Saint Sebastian, and the main land, where they constructed a pinnacle, and repaired their vessels. Having remained there until the twenty-third, they set sail, and, on the twenty-sixth, reached the coast of America, in the southern latitude of forty-seven degrees, from whence they ran along the shore, a degree farther. On the twenty-seventh, they entered a haven, to which the admiral gave the name of Port Desire. Here they careened their ships, unmolested by the natives, who appeared uncultivated savages, and were of gigantic stature.

On the twenty-eighth of December, they departed from Port Desire, and soon afterwards (b) passed near a large

(b) December 30th.

large rock, situated at the distance of five leagues from the land. On the second of January, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-seven, they reached a great cape, and, on the day following, fell in with a second, in the latitude of fifty-two degrees, and forty-five minutes. From hence, a long beach ran, nearly a league to the southward, extending to the mouth of the Magellanic streight. As the weather was unfavourable, they remained at this place, until the sixth of January, and during the violence of a tempest, were so unfortunate as to lose an anchor.

Having entered the streights, they received on board a Spaniard, whose associates (twenty men, and two women,) were the only survivors of four hundred persons, who, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-nine, had been sent thither by Philip, the second, for the purpose of establishing a colony. On the seventh, they passed by the hull of a small bark, and were informed by the Spaniard, that it had been left there by Sir Francis Drake. On the eighth, they cast anchor near the island of Penguin, where they killed, and salted a large quantity of those birds, in allusion to the numerous flocks of which, the place was named. On the ninth, they departed from this island, and sailed south-south-west to Philip's-Town, which had been erected by the Spaniards. Here, in a subterraneous cavern, they discerned four cast guns, which had been buried by the inhabitants, who, during the space of two years, had languished miserably under the want of many of the chief necessities of existence. Previous to their departure, the English named the place Port Famine.

On the fourteenth, they entered within a large bay, and called it Muscle-cove, on account of the quanti-

ties of that shell-fish which were discovered on the shore. On the twenty-first, they sailed from thence, and passed into another bay, which was, immediately, named after their sovereign, Elizabeth.

At the distance of two leagues from the bay, they discovered a fine river, the banks of which were inhabited by cannibals, who had devoured numbers of the Spaniards. The English not only saw, but spoke with these inhuman wretches, against several of whom they discharged their musquets, when they perceived that their intentions were sanguinary, whilst under the shew of peace, they would have persuaded them to venture up the river. From hence, the ships proceeded to the channel of Saint Jerome, at the distance of two leagues, and, next entered a harbour, where they were detained by contrary winds, violent tempests, and immoderate showers, until the twenty-third of February. On the day following, the English sailed into the South-sea.

On the first of March, the *Hugh-Gallant* was separated from the fleet, during the violence of a storm, and, having sprung a leak, was, with difficulty preserved, by the incessant labour of the mariners, from plunging to the bottom. On the fifteenth, she joined the *Desire*, and the *Content*, between the island of Saint Mary, and the continent of Chili. These last ships had, in the mean time, touched at the island of La Mocha, which lies in thirty-eight degrees of southern latitude. Here, several of the English disembarked, and were hospitably entertained by the Indians, natives of the island of *Aranuco*. These people were possessed of mines of gold, and had not yet submitted to the dominion of the Spaniards.

On the sixteenth, the admiral, attended by seventy of his men, landed on the island of Saint Mary, and

was

was met by two Indian chiefs, who, mistaking the whole company for Spaniards, to whose authority they had been long accustomed to pay a servile deference, conducted them to a chapel, around which were store-houses intirely filled with wheat, and barley. Of these, the English took a large quantity, and, at the same time, procured a supply of hogs, hens, potatoes, Guinea wheat, and five hundred dried dog-fishes. The admiral invited the two Indians to an entertainment on board of the *Desire*; and, here, when they were elevated with wine, and had discovered that they were not amongst the Spaniards, they ventured to speak of mines of gold, and assured the admiral that if he, and his companions, would cross the country, they should be assisted in procuring a treasure equal to their most sanguine wishes. Cavendish returned them thanks for so liberal an offer, yet could not be persuaded to embrace it.

On the eighteenth, the English sailed from this place, and after a short passage, cast anchor under the island of Conception. On the thirtieth, they entered the bay of Quintero, in the southern latitude of thirty-three degrees, and fifty minutes. Fifty men, well armed, were ordered, by the admiral, to disembark immediately, and to proceed some miles towards the inland parts of the country. On their march they saw vast herds of cattle, and passed near the rivers which abounded with quantities of fish. The Spaniards had sent out a party of two hundred horse, for the purpose of intercepting, and vanquishing the English; yet, although the former were superior in numbers, and better prepared for action, they seemed afraid of venturing within gun-shot of their invaders, and suffered them to return unresisted to their ships. On the following day, they were less irresolute. Two hundred

horsemen rushed forward from the mountains, and, attacking a small party of the English, who were on shore, engaged in replenishing their casks with water, killed two, and made three their prisoners. Scarcely had the engagement been concluded, when fifteen men disembarked from the boat belonging to the *Hugh-Gallant*, and, joining their associates, began a furious attack, at the close of which they were victorious, rescuing the prisoners, and destroying twenty-four of their opponents. Twelve fell on the side of the English, who now became a terror to the Spaniards, and were no longer interrupted in their proceedings.

On the fifth, the admiral left the bay of *Quintero*, and, in ten days from his departure, arrived at *Moro Moreno*, in the latitude of twenty-three degrees. On the third of the following month (c), they entered within a bay, and discovered the small towns of *Paracca*, *Chincha*, and *Pisca*, the last of which lies in thirteen degrees, and thirty minutes, of southern latitude. Here, the English disembarked, and procured a supply of various provisions. They likewise seized two ships, one of which was so richly freighted as to be valued at twenty thousand pounds, sterling. Having secured the cargoes, they set fire to the vessels, and permitted the crews to proceed, unmolested, to the town. Concerning the natives of this region, the admiral hath left the following description.

“ They stand in great awe of the Spaniards, are very simple people, and live like savages. They brought us to their abodes situated nearly two miles from the harbour, and shewed us their women, and their mode of lodging. On the ground, is laid the skin of some wild beast; above it, and placed across, are five, or six stakes, which rest on the tops of pieces
“ of

(c) May 1587.

"of wood that are driven deeply into the ground.
 "the whole is fenced about with boughs. Their diet
 "is raw fish, which stinks most intolerably. At their
 "decease, these savages are buried with their bows,
 "arrows, canoes, and all their property. We opened
 "one of the graves, and saw the order in which they
 "lay."

On the twenty-sixth, the English reached the road of Païta, and immediately attacked, plundered, and reduced the town to ashes. They likewise set fire to a bark, which was at anchor within the harbour. After the commission of these hostilities, they pursued the inhabitants to the mountains, where they seized their baggage, and every valuable article, amongst which were twenty-five pounds weight of rials of plate, all kinds of merchandize, household-goods, and apparel.

On the twenty fifth of May, they arrived at the isle of Puna, situated in three degrees of southern latitude, and famous for the manufactories of cables. Having attacked, and sunk a large ship, of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, which lay at anchor within the port, they immediately disembarked, and obtained intelligence that the Cacique, or lord of the island was an Indian, who had espoused a Spanish woman; was converted to christianity, and lived in great splendor. As the greatest part of his property, estimated at an hundred thousand crowns, was concealed within the subterraneous cavern of a small island adjoining to Puna, the admiral, and his associates repaired thither, discovered the treasure, and conveyed it to their ships, yet not until, at their return, they had seized the bells within the church, and reduced the edifice to ashes.

On the second of June, the Spaniards assembled in arms, and appeared determined to take vengeance for the injuries which they had received. At noon, a desperate engagement was commenced, during which twelve of the English were either killed, wounded, or taken Prisoners, and forty-six of the Spaniards fell in the field of battle. Towards the evening, seventy men landed from the Content, and the Hugh-Gallant. They were attacked by an armed multitude, consisting of an hundred Spaniards, and two hundred Indians, whom, after a short resistance, they intirely defeated. They next set fire to four large vessels on the stocks, and, having demolished the town, in which were three hundred houses, retired unmolested, to their ships. The loss of men on the side of the English was, notwithstanding, so severely felt, that the admiral gave orders that the Hugh-Gallant, the bark, of the burthen of forty tons, should be directly sunk.

On the fifth, the English left Puna, and having watered at Rio Dulce, passed the line, on the twelfth, and, during the remainder of the month, directed their course, northwards. On the first of July, they descried New-Spain, at the distance of four leagues. On the ninth, they intercepted, and took a new ship, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons. Having secured the crew, and one Michael Sancius, an experienced pilot, and accustomed to voyages in the South seas, they set fire to the ship. On the twenty-sixth, and nearly a fortnight after they had taken another bark, they cast anchor in the river of Copalita, situated in sixteen degrees of north latitude. At night, thirty of the English rowed in the pinnace to Aguatulco, where they made a descent, and burned the town, and custom-house, in the last of which were
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six hundred bags of indigo, and four hundred of cocoa, valued together at twenty-eight thousand crowns.

On the twenty-seventh, the ships sailed from the river of Copalita, and reached Aguatulco, on the following night. At day-break, the admiral disembarked, attended by thirty men, who seized an officer of the customs, as he was passing through the woods, with a load of merchandize; and not only forced him to resign it, but sent him a prisoner to their associates.

On the twenty-fourth of August, a party of the English, who had been led by the informations of Sancius to expect a valuable acquisition, proceeded to Puerto de Natividad, and were mortified by the discovery that the vessels of which they were in search had just departed. They, notwithstanding, reduced the town to ashes, and destroyed two ships, each of the burthen of two hundred tons.

On the twenty-sixth, they arrived at the bay of Saint Jago, where they dragged for, and obtained a quantity of pearls. The admiral, and a part of his associates engaged, until the fourth of November, in the reduction, and demolition of several small towns, whilst the *Desire*, and the *Content*, cruized near the head-land of California. At this period, a mariner descried a ship from the main-top-mast, when the admiral displayed the signal for chasing, and, crouding every sail, kept on his course. At the expiration of three hours, he came up with her, and discovered that she was the *Saint Ann*, the largest ship in all the South Seas, of the burthen of seven hundred tons, and on her passage from the Philippines, to Acapulco, in New-Spain. When the English had fired the first broad-side, the enemy began a furious cannonading, and the battle lasted during five hours, at the close of which a flag of truce was hoisted on board of the

Saint Ann, and the commander offered to yield up the ship, and cargo, on condition that the crew, together with himself, should not be put to death. This proposal was complied with, and the conquerors took possession of their prize, in which were one hundred, and twenty-two thousand pieces of gold, (each valued at eight shillings,) rich silks, sattins, damask, musk, and various kinds of valuable merchandize, and provisions. All the Spaniards, in number, one hundred, and fifty, including women, were left (*d*) ashore near the harbour of Puerto Seguro, after having been supplied with all necessaries, a quantity of wine, the sails of their ship, and some planks for the purpose of constructing huts.

On the nineteenth, having set fire to the Saint Ann, on board of which five hundred tons of goods were still remaining, they proceeded on their return to England. The Content was soon outfailed, and the Desire directed her course singly to the Ladrones, and, on the third of January, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, approached Guiana, in the latitude of thirteen degrees, and forty minutes. At this place, they were surrounded by thirty canoes, full of savages, who, in exchange for some of the least valuable commodities of Europe, gave them cocoas, plantains, potatoes, and fresh fish. On the fourteenth, they arrived at a head-land of one of the Philippines, called Cabo del Spirito Santo. On the fifteenth they reached the isle of Capul, and, having cast anchor, trafficked with the seven Caciques, or chiefs of the place. Here, they remained during nine days, and were well supplied with fresh victuals, wood, and water. At this place, also, the Spanish pilot of the Saint Ann was executed on a gibbet erected for the pur-

(*d*) November 6, 1587.

purpose. He had been detected in an attempt to betray the English into the hands of the Spaniards; and his guilt was confirmed partly by the deposition of a Portuguese, his friend, and, partly, by passages from letters discovered in his trunk. At Capul, the admiral exacted a tribute of provisions from the Caciques of this, and an hundred other islands; but, soon afterwards, returned the value of it, when these chiefs declared that they would, on all occasions, assist him to oppose the Spaniards.

On the twenty-fourth, the English set sail, and passed the streight between Panama, and Negro Island. On the eighth of February, they came in sight of Batocina; and, on the fourteenth, fell in with eleven small islands, adjoining to the Moluccos. On the first of March, having passed the streights of Java Major, and Minor, they cast anchor near the south-western extremity of the former, and, on the twelfth, engaged in traffic with the inhabitants, who came along side of the ship, in canoes, laden with provisions. After having remained here, during a fortnight, they proceeded towards the Cape of Good Hope, and reached it on the sixteenth of May. From thence, they directed their course for Saint Helena, and arrived there on the ninth of June. When they were supplied with necessaries, they set sail for England (e). On the twentieth of August, they came in sight of the isle of Flores, and, continuing their voyage, arrived at Plymouth, on the ninth of September, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, having sailed intirely round the globe, and brought home what, in that age, was considered as an amazing fortune.

The following is a copy of the letter which was written by Cavendish to the lord Hunsdon, on the day of his return.

Right

(e) June 20, 1588.

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“co. Which goods (my ships being able to contain but a very small part of them) I was obliged to set on fire. From the cape of California, which is the uttermost part of Nueva Espana, I navigated to the islands of the Philippines, bordering upon the coasts of China; of which country I have brought such intelligence, as hath not yet been heard of in these parts. The stateliness, and riches of which country, I fear to make report of, lest I should not be credited; for, if I had not sufficiently known the incomparable wealth of that country, I should have been as incredulous thereof, as others will be that have not had the like experience. I sailed along the islands of the Moluccos, where I was civilly entertained by some of the Heathen-people; and where our country-men may trade as freely as the Portuguese, if they will. From thence, I passed by the cape of Good Hope, and found out, in the way homeward, the island of St. Helena, where the Portuguese are used to refresh themselves; and from that island God hath suffered me to return to England. All which services, with myself, I humbly prostrate at her majesty's feet, desiring the ALMIGHTY long to continue her reign among Us; for at this day, she is the most famous, and most victorious of sovereigns, &c.”

Such, observes a naval writer, (*f*), was the harmony between the sovereign, and the subject. The one offered his all, and the other accepted of no more than what the absolute exigencies of the state required (*g*).

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(*f*) Lediard's naval history.

(*g*) The particulars relating to this voyage are taken from Hackluyt's Voyages, V. 3. p. 803.—Camden's Annals, p. 552.—Stowe's Annals, p. 808.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 401.—Purchas's pilgrims, V. 1. p.

A love of pleasure, and magnificence, was still the prevailing passion of this illustrious adventurer, and, notwithstanding that his acquisitions, during the first expedition, were estimated at sixty thousand pounds, he was obliged to undertake a second, that he might relieve the wants to which extravagance had reduced him. Accordingly, with a small fleet (*h*), he departed from Plymouth, on the twenty-sixth of August, and proceeded, without being engaged in any material occurrence, to the equinoctial line, under which the ships were becalmed, for the space of twenty-seven days, and numbers amongst the crews became enfeebled by those disorders which are natural to the climate.

On the twenty-second of September, the wind blew favourably from the north-west, when the English renewed their course, and, on the twenty-ninth of November, came in sight of the Brazils. They were, notwithstanding, ignorant of their situation, until approaching nearer to the shore (*i*), they took a small vessel freighted with sugar, various articles of merchandize, and negroes. From the pilot of this prize, they learned that the adjacent land was Cape Frio, ten leagues distant from the river of Janeiro, and thirty from

57.—Roberti Johnstoni Rerum Britannicarum Hist. lib. 4. p. 126.—Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 24.—Introduction to the Coll. of Voyages, 6 vols. folio.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. 1. p. 571, 572.—and Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. folio. p. 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234.

(*h*) It consisted of the Leicester galleon, commanded by Cavendish, with the rank of admiral; the Roebuck, (vice-admiral ship,) commanded by captain Cock; the Desire, (rear-admiral ship,) commanded by captain Davis; the Dainty, commanded by captain Randolph Cotton; and the Black pinnace.

(*i*) December 2d.

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from Santos, the place which they had already determined to attack.

Under the conduct of their new pilot, they sailed to Ilha Grande, twelve leagues distant from Santos, where they disembarked, and procured various refreshments.

At this period, the adventurers were perpetually engaged in violent altercations, and Cavendish, who wished to divert their attention from proceedings at once so alarming, and inexcusable, judged it necessary to accelerate his preparations for the attack of Santos. He now sailed towards the island of Placentia, at the distance of thirty leagues to the westward of Cape Frio, and, arriving there on the fifth of December, plundered the houses inhabited by the Portuguese. Having continued at this place until the eleventh, he renewed his course, and, on the fourteenth, reached the island of Saint Sebastian. It was now determined to attack the town of Santos, and, as the Portuguese pilot had observed that the place was scarcely defensible, the English concluded that if an hundred men well armed were to proceed to the scene of action, there could be no doubt of their success. A violent altercation now ensued. All insisted that they had a right to be intrusted with the execution of the enterprize, and declared their resolution to be revenged on those who should endeavour to exclude them. Even the authority of the admiral was insufficient either to appease their quarrels, or determine concerning any of the measures which it might be necessary to pursue. How painful the situation of Cavendish must have been, at this period, may be gathered from his own remarks. "Here we had such disorder amongst ourselves, that
"if the Portuguese had been of any courage, they
"might have killed many of us. Our men would
"fight

"fight for their victuals, as if they had been no Christians, but Jews; and they that got the best, would go into some hole, or into the wilderness, under some tree, and there continue as long as they had meat. For mine own part, there was such a sharking that I could, in that place, get neither meat, nor money."

It appears from the testimony of one historion (*k*), that the captains Cock, and Davis, departed with the *Desire*, and the *Black Pinnace*, from the island of Saint Sebastian, and that the admiral did not follow until after the expiration of ten days: another writer observes (*l*) that the adventurers on this service had the good fortune to succeed, nor did they deviate from their instructions. They disembarked whilst the Portuguese were engaged in the celebration of the high mass, and surrounded the church, in which were three hundred persons, exclusive of women, and children. These were taken prisoners, and (what appears extraordinary,) by a party consisting only of thirty-four Englishmen. In the mean time, the townsmen who were not at their devotion, secured their effects and fled into the country. All the prisoners, except seven of the chief citizens, were set at liberty by the admiral.

Amongst the articles of plunder were sugar, Cassavi meal, and great quantities of gold, and silver. The natives not only appeared rejoiced at the reduction of the place, but intreated Cavendish to keep possession of it, declaring that they would arm in his defence. As a testimony of the sincerity of their professions, they made a discovery of the concealment of three large bags of money, and conducted the English to a spot from whence they carried off three hundred head

(*k*) Hackluyt.

(*l*) Harris.

head of cattle, which lasted the whole fleet, during the time that they remained at Santos (m).

It is necessary to observe that the foregoing particulars do not agree with the relation of an historian (n) who describes the English as having been secure of satisfying all their wants, if the Indians, availing themselves of the criminal inattention of captain Cock, had not carried, even during the public hours of the day, whatsoever articles they chose to fix upon, from the town to their secret retreats within the woods. The same writer adds that the English continued at Santos, until the twenty-second of January, endeavouring, but in vain, to acquire, by intreaties, those treasures of which they were once possessed. At length, driven to such extremities as to be in want of common necessities, they quitted the town, in which they could only obtain a few baskets of Cassavi meal.

Such are the representations of one historian. Another (o) hath informed us that the majority of the adventurers expressed an earnest inclination to remain at Santos, during the whole winter, but that the admiral refused, from just motives, to gratify their wishes. The English did not, however, quit the place, until the expiration of two months, and it is probable that from this long delay arose the succeeding unfortunate interruptions to the voyage. Previous to their departure, they burned the suburbs, destroyed several of the sugar-mills, between Santos, and Saint Vincent, and set fire to all the ships within the harbour (p).

On the twenty-fourth of January, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-two, they sailed towards the streights of Magellan, and, at a short distance from the river Plata, the ships were miserably shattered,

(m) Harris. (n) Hackluyt. (o) Harris. (p) Ibid.

shattered, and separated by a tempest, the violence of which, together with the dangers that attended it, are strikingly described by Cavendish. "This storm, I thought to be such that worse could not be endured. Such was the fury of the west, and south-west winds, that we were driven from the shore, four hundred leagues, and constrained to beat from fifty degrees to the southward, into forty degrees to the northward again, before we could recover near the shore. In which time, we had a new shift of sails, clean blown away, and our ship in danger of sinking three times, which, with extremity of men's labour, we recovered. In this weakness, we departed from the streights, being from that harbour eight leagues, and, in eighteen days, we got to the streights."

On the sixth of March, the separated ships arrived at Port Desire, which was the appointed rendezvous. Having obtained a fresh supply of water, and provisions, the English sailed, on the twentieth, towards the mouth of the streight. Their course was much retarded by unfavourable winds, and they were obliged to beat three days off Port Famine, until the expiration of which period, they could not double the cape. At length, they reached the former place, but were becalmed at it, for the space of eight days, during which they were in danger of perishing under the want of provisions, and the still greater severities of excessive cold (q).

Notwithstanding these alarming obstacles, they entered, on the eighteenth of April, nearly fifty leagues within the streight's mouth. On the fourteenth, they passed

(q) The feet of one Knivet turned black with the cold, and his toes came off with his stockings. Another blowing his nose with his fingers threw it into the fire.

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passed the first streight ; on the sixteenth, they sailed through the second ; and, on the eighteenth, they doubled Cape Froward. On the twenty-first, they were forced, by the violence of a storm, to enter into a small cove, where they remained until the fifteenth of May. Here, all the unhappy wretches, in the galleon, who languished under sickness, were set on shore, and inhumanly deserted by their associates. The admiral now directed his course for the Brazils ; a proceeding intirely contrary to his inclinations, but necessary to appease the mutinous disposition of his crew. It was the design of Cavendish to have sailed to China, and the voyage might easily have been accomplished, if the English had not wasted their time in unbecoming quarrels, previous to their entrance within the Magellanie streight. Another passage was still open to them by the Cape of Good Hope ; and thither the admiral would willingly have sailed, but was overruled by the clamour of his company, who insisted that he should return to the Brazils.

On the passage, he was deserted by the *Desire*, and the *Black Pinnace* ; a misfortune which, in the bitterness of grief, he attributes to captain Davis. “ And
“ now to come to that villain who hath been the death
“ of me, and the decay of the whole action, I mean
“ Davis, whose only treachery, in running from me,
“ hath been an utter ruin to all. As I since under-
“ stood, it was ever the intention of Davis to run
“ away. This is the will of God, that I should put
“ him in trust ; that it should be the end of my
“ life, and the decay of the whole action. For had
“ not these two small ships parted from us, we should
“ not have miscarried on the coast of Brazil ; for the
“ only decay of us was that we could not get into
“ their barred harbours. In short, the whole amounts

"to this; the sole intent of Davis was to overthrow
"me."

The admiral was now left with only one ship, the Roebuck having been separated from him, during the violence of a storm. With difficulty, he reached the coast of Brazil, and cast anchor in the bay of Saint Vincent. Here, more than twenty of the crew landed, under the command of captain Barker, and proceeded in search of plunder. Venturing, imprudently, beyond the limits to which the admiral had endeavoured to confine them, and remaining on shore, during two days, and nights, engaged in feasting, and debauchery, they were watched by the Portuguese, eighty of whom, assisted by three hundred Indians, rushed upon them, whilst they were too intoxicated to make the least defence, and, having seized the boat, put every Englishman to the sword.

The increased distresses of the admiral might, at this period, have proved fatal if he had not fortunately procured an old boat belonging to the Portuguese, and, if the Roebuck, from which he was separated in the storm, had not sailed into the same bay, although much injured by the violence of the weather. Notwithstanding that the ships were now almost defenceless, the admiral resolved to engage in some enterprize, not only with a view of avenging the massacre of his associates, but in order to repair his losses.

His first design was against the town of Saint Vincent; but the attempt failed because the ships were too large to pass over the shoals. Yielding to the advice of the Portuguese pilot, he prepared to attack Spirito Santo; but there, also the enterprize proved unsuccessful, as the water was not sufficiently deep to take the vessels over the bar. At a small distance from the town, three ships were anchored; and, lest they

should

should remove to a securer station, the admiral proposed that he and his associates should, in their boats, surround, and take them. He was answered by the majority that it was absolutely necessary to defer the enterprize, until the next morning. With reluctance, he consented, and, when that time approached, had the mortification to perceive that the enemy had shifted their situation to one where it was impossible to annoy them. Now that Cavendish would have waved the attack, his companions declared that it ought immediately to be commenced. As his authority was considerably weakened, he yielded, but with pain, to the necessities of engaging in the attempt. The two damaged boats were crowded with musqueteers, who proceeded to the place of action, under the command of captain Morgan. If the greatest intrepidity could have secured success, they must have proved victorious; but in so powerful a posture of defence were the Portuguese, that all endeavours to annoy them proved equally dangerous, and unavailing. Morgan, and numbers of his men were killed; and of those who returned on board, all, except eight, were desperately wounded, their bodies being, in several parts, transfixed with arrows.

Notwithstanding that the few English who survived were scarcely capable of navigating the vessels, the admiral proceeded to the island of Saint Sebastian, in the bay of which captain Davis, and the crew of the Roebuck, deserted him, and in this ship, stood out to sea. As he hath drawn the picture of his sufferings, we here present it to the reader. "They instantly desired nothing more than to return home; but, in truth, it was not of any care of the Roebuck, but only of a most cowardly mind of the master, and

" the chiefest of the company. Now, you shall under-
 " stand that the captain was very sick ; and that
 " since the time that the ship lost her mast, she be-
 " came the most laboursome ship that ever did swim
 " in the sea, so that he was not able to endure in her ;
 " and, at that present, he lay on board of my ship, so
 " as there was none of any trust, or account left in
 " her. But, such was the case of that ship, being
 " without sails, masts, or any manner of tackle, as,
 " in the sense, or judgment of any man existing, there
 " did not live that desperate person in the world, who,
 " in that case in which she then was would have ven-
 " tured to have sailed in her half so far as England.
 " These villains having left in my ship all their hurt
 " men, and having on board of their ship, both my
 " surgeons, I not having one in my own ship who
 " knew how to lay a plaster to a wound, much less to
 " cure any by salves ; and farther, having in their
 " ship, three times the proportion of my victuals ;
 " as having with them, at their departure, but six,
 " and forty men, and carrying with them the propor-
 " tion for six months victuals of one hundred, and
 " twenty men, at large, I leave you to consider of
 " this part of theirs, and the miserable case in which I
 " was left."

When the admiral, and his associates arrived at the
 island of Saint Sebastian, they replenished their casks
 with water ; an article that was almost expended.
 Having constructed two new boats, and being furnished
 with a small quantity of provisions, Cavendish, regard-
 less of the indignities which he had received from his
 associates, and still eager for the accomplishment of
 his earliest project, intreated them to consent that he
 should return to the streights of Magellan. They ob-
 stinately

stinately refused to comply with this request, and it is supposed that this unfortunate adventurer expired soon afterwards, a martyr to the grief arising from the treachery of his associates, and the disappointment of his hopes.

Concerning the means through which the letters, and last testament of Cavendish were forwarded to his executor, Sir Tristram Gorges, our historians are silent ; and it can only be ascertained that when he arrived within eight degrees to the northward of the line, he sent his friend some written papers, of which the following is an extract.

“ My loving friend ! there is nothing in this world
 “ that makes a truer trial of friendship, than at death
 “ to shew mindfulness of love, and friendship, which
 “ now you shall make a perfect experience of, desiring
 “ you to hold my love as dear, dying poor, as if I
 “ had been most infinitely rich. As to the success of this
 “ unfortunate action, the bitter thereof lies so heavy
 “ upon me, that with much pain, am I able to write
 “ these few lines, much less to make discovery unto
 “ you of all the adverse hopes that have befallen me
 “ in this voyage, the least whereof is my death.—
 “ But, now I am grown so weak and faint, that I am
 “ scarcely able to hold the pen in my hand ; wherefore
 “ I must leave you to inquire of the rest concerning
 “ our unhappy proceedings.—And now, by this, what
 “ with grief for the death of my cousin, John Lock,
 “ and the continual trouble which I endured amongst
 “ such hell-hounds, my spirits were clean spent,
 “ wishing myself upon any desert place in the world,
 “ there to die, rather than thus basely to return home
 “ again, the which course I had put in execution, had
 “ I found an island, which the charts make to be in

"eighty degrees to the southward of the line. I swear to you that I sought it with all diligence, meaning, if I had found it, to have there ended my unfortunate life. But God suffered not such happiness to light upon me, for, I could by no means find it, so that I was forced to go towards England; and, after having gotten eight degrees north of the line, I lost my dearest cousin.—Bear with this scribbling, for I protest that I am scarcely able to hold a pen in my hand."

Such was the last adventure of this gallant seaman, whose life seems to have been equally chequered by the brilliancy of success, and the severity of misfortune. At his return from his first expedition, he was received in triumph; his soldiers, and mariners were clad in silk; his sails were composed of damask; and every top-mast was covered with cloth of gold. So extensive also were his acquisitions that the produce of one prize alone was valued at forty thousand pounds. His second expedition discovered a melancholy reverse of fortune, and was marked by a series of calamities which terminated only with his life (r).

Previous to the conclusion of these memoirs, it may be necessary, that in justice to the memory of captain Davis, and his adherents, we should insert a material extract from their vindication, which was drawn up at

Port

(r) The particulars of this voyage are taken from Camden, p. 552.—Stowe, p. 808.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 401.—Hackluyt's Voyages, V. 3. p. 803.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 57.—Roberti Johnstoni Rerum Britannicarum Hist. Lib. 4. p. 126.—Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 695.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 571, 572.—Lediard's naval History, V. 1. Folio. p. 282, 283, 284.

Port Desire, and signed by forty persons, including officers, and mariners.

“ So, we departed the streight, on the fiteenth of
 “ May. On the twenty-first, being athwart of Port
 “ Desire, thirty leagues off the shore, the wind being
 “ then at north-east, and by north, at five of the
 “ clock, at night, lying north-east, we suddenly
 “ cast about, lying south-east, and by south, and
 “ sometimes south-east, the whole fleet following the
 “ admiral, our ship (the Desire) coming under his
 “ lee, shot a-head of him, and so framed sail fit to
 “ keep company. During this night, we were se-
 “ parated, but by what occasion we protest that we
 “ know not; nor whether we lost them, or they
 “ us. In the morning, we only saw the Black Pin-
 “ nace, then supposing that the admiral had overshot us.
 “ All this day, we stood to the eastward, hoping to
 “ find him, because it was not likely that he should
 “ stand to the shore again so suddenly. But missing
 “ him, towards night, we stood to the shore-ward,
 “ hoping, by that course, to find him. On the twen-
 “ ty-second of May, at night, we had a violent
 “ storm, with the wind at north-west, and we were
 “ forced to hull, not being able to bear sail; and, this
 “ night, we perished our main tressle-trees, so that
 “ we could no longer use our main-top-sail, lying
 “ most dangerously in the sea. The pinnace likewise
 “ received a great leak, so that we were forced to seek
 “ the next shore, for her relief. And, because sa-
 “ mine was like to be the best end, we were willing to
 “ go for Port Desire, hoping with seals, and penguins
 “ to relieve ourselves, and so to make shift to follow the
 “ general, or there to wait his coming from Brazil.
 “ On the four and twentieth of May, we had much

" wind at north. During the five and twentieth, it
 " was calm, and the sea was very lofty, so that our
 " ship had dangerous foul weather. On the six and
 " twentieth, our fore-shrouds broke, so that if we
 " had not been near the shore, it had been impossible
 " for us to get out of the sea. And now being here
 " moored at Port Desire, our shrouds are all rotten, not
 " having a running rope in which we can put any
 " trust, and being provided with only one shift of
 " sails, all worn, our top-sails not able to abide any
 " stress of weather, neither have we any pitch, tar,
 " or nails, nor any store for the supplying of these
 " wants; and we live only upon seals, and mussels,
 " having but five hogsheads of pork, on board, and of
 " meal, three ounces for a man, a day, with water
 " to drink. And, forasmuch as it hath pleased God
 " to separate our fleet, and to bring us into such hard
 " extremities, that only now, by his mere mercy,
 " we expect relief, although otherwise we are hope-
 " less of comfort, yet because the wonderful works
 " of God, in his exceeding great favour towards us,
 " his creatures, are far beyond the scope of man's ca-
 " pacity, therefore, by HIM we hope to have deli-
 " verance in this our deep distress. Also, forasmuch
 " as those upon whom God will bestow the favour of
 " life, with return home to their country, may not
 " only themselves remain blameless, but also manifest
 " the truth of our actions, we have thought good, in
 " Christian charity, to lay down, under our hands, the
 " truth of all our proceedings, even until the time of
 " this our distress. Given as above."

To this declaration is subjoined an account of their
 adventures on the ocean, after their separation from
 Cavendish. Hence, it appears that after having thrice
 passed

THOMAS CAVENDISH, Esq. 263
passed the streights of Magellan, and entered the south
sea, they were a fourth time driven back by unfavourable
winds, and furious storms. After the most afflicting trials
of adversity, sixteen persons, the whole number of survivors,
amongst whom only five were capable of navigating the vessels,
reached Bear-Haven, in Ireland, on the eleventh of June, in
the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-three.

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M E M O I R S

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Sir MARTIN FROBISHER.

CONCERNING those occurrences in which this celebrated adventurer (a native of Doncaster,) was engaged during the earlier part of his life, we have no account. His parents, who lived in a state of humble obscurity, endeavoured with a part of the little property which they possessed, to breed him to the sea; an element on which he afterwards acquired such exalted fame that the meanness of his birth, and the deficiencies of his education, were never mentioned by his contemporaries but as impediments, to which his enterprizing genius, assisted by the love of public virtue, could rise superior (a).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred and seventy-six, the merchants of the port of London, desirous that a discovery might be made of a nearer north-west

(a) Stowe's Annals, p. 808.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 568.

west passage to Tartary, and China, than the course on which the Portuguese proceeded by the cape of Good Hope, fitted out two barks, the Gabriel, and the Michael, together with a pinnace, of the burthen of ten tons; and gave the chief command of this small squadron to Frobisher, under whom, as first Captain, was Matthew Kindersley.

On the sixteenth of June, these adventurers set sail from Gravesend, and, after having proceeded towards the north of Scotland, came, on the twenty-eighth of July, into sixty-two degrees of latitude, discovering land, surrounded by shoals of ice, and which, they supposed, was the continent, of America, called Sierra de Labrador. As there was no anchor-ground, even near the shore, they renewed their course, and, on the thirtieth, steered east-north-eastwards, the current setting north-east, and south-west. Still were they impeded by numerous drifts of ice, nor were they able to approach nearer than within five leagues of land.

On the tenth of August, they reached a desert island, which was situated at the distance of a mile from the continent. Here, they disembarked, and, after a short stay, returned on board, and pursued their voyage. On the eleventh, and when they had arrived in the latitude of sixty-three degrees, and eight minutes, they entered within a streight, and, in compliment to their chief, called it Frobisher's Streight, a name which it still retains. On the twelfth, they fell in with the island of Saint Gabriel, and cast anchor in a bay, to which they gave the appellation of Prior's Sound. On the seventeenth, they reached the isle of Thomas Williams; and on the eighteenth, having sailed north-west, arrived at Butcher's island, which

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which is ten leagues distant from the former place. Here they landed, and, soon afterwards, discovered Men, rowing towards them, in seven boats (b).

Such is the account, which hath been related by an old historian. From the testimony of others, we learn that on the first of July, when he had lost his pinnace, and the Michael had quitted him, in order to return to England, he descried the land, but durst not approach it, lest the floating mountains of ice might have endangered his vessel. It is added that, on the twentieth, he discovered a place which he called Queen Elizabeth's Fore-Land, and, soon afterwards, reached Frobisher's Streight. Concluding that it was the passage between Asia, and America, he entered it, on the ninth of August, and, nearly in the latitude of sixty-three degrees.

Having sailed up almost sixty leagues, he disembarked, and was met by a multitude of persons of both sexes. The men, who were clad in the skins of sea-calves, had black hair, broad faces, flat noses, and swarthy complexions. The women, who much resembled the figures of the ancient Britons, had painted their cheeks, and eye-lids, with colours of a deep blue. Frobisher detained one of these savages, and brought him, together with his bark, to England (c), where he died soon after his arrival.

It may be necessary to observe that one historian (d) hath observed that, when some of the English conducted on shore a savage who had been on board of the vessel, the natives rose, and seized them, together with the boat. Another writer (e) informs us that five of the

(b) Hackluyt, part 3. p. 29.

(c) This bark, the keel of which was of wood, was covered with seal-skins.

(d) Hackluyt.

(e) Purchas.

the English, and their boat, were taken by the savages; and that it was posterior to this event that Frobisher detained the savage who, afterwards, accompanied him to England. A naval historian (*f*) remarks that these accounts, although apparently contradictions, are, notwithstanding, the result of truths. On the nineteenth, a savage came on board, and was afterwards, conveyed to land. On the twentieth, another savage visited the ship; and, when he was set on shore, his fellow-natives took possession of the boat, and detained the English who attended him. On the twenty-second, Frobisher decoyed a third savage from his associates, secured him, and brought him afterwards to England. Having remained at this place, during two days, engaged in fruitless endeavours to recover his men, our adventurer, obstructed in the continuance of his voyage, by the drifts of ice, departed homewards, on the twenty-sixth of August; descried Friezeland, on the first of September; and, on the second of October, arrived at Harwich.

We shall conclude the particulars of this first expedition, by observing that Frobisher took possession of the country, in the name of Elizabeth, his sovereign; and that, in testimony of her right, he directed each of his associates to take with him some produce of the place. One Englishman is mentioned to have brought home a piece of black stone, which was accidentally cast into the fire, and when taken out, glittered like gold. These appearances induced the owner to carry it to a refiner, who, after a trial, discovered that it contained a large proportion of that metal (*g*).

On

(*f*) Lediard.

(*g*) The particulars of this expedition are taken from Holingshed.—Hackluyt, part 3. p. 29. 57.—Harris's Collection,

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On the twenty-sixth of May, in the year one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-seven, Frobisher, whose employers were still anxious for the discovery of a north-west passage, proceeded from Blackwall, with the *Aid*, (a vessel belonging to the queen,) the *Gabriel*, and the *Michael*, two barks, which were commanded by the captains Fenton and York. On board of the *Aid*, where Frobisher acted under the title of general, for Elizabeth, were seven officers, a lieutenant, an ensign, a corporal of the shot, a master, mate, a pilot, and master gunner, together with nine gentlemen, twenty soldiers, and fifty sailors. In the *Gabriel*, were a master, one gentleman, six soldiers, and ten sailors. The company of the *Michael*, exclusive of the captain, consisted of a master, one gentlemen, five soldiers, and nine mariners.

On the seventh of June, they reached the isles of Orkney, and, on the fourth of July, arrived at Friesland. On the sixteenth, they came to Frobisher's streight; into which the ships were hindered from entering by the ice, and only the pinnaces were rowed to the shore. When the crews belonging to these had taken a savage, they returned, and soon afterwards, the vessels got under sail. On the nineteenth of July, they entered the streight, and anchored in a bay, to which Frobisher gave the name of Jackman's Sound. Here, he disembarked, attended by most of his associates, and, after having proceeded far into the country, without making any discoveries of importance, he directed that the barks, and boats should be made ready, and, then, coasted in them both to the east and to the west. During this short expedition, he attempted to
take

tion, part 1. p. 575.—Introduction to a collection of voyages in six volumes, folio.—Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 811.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. folio, p. 1. 65, 166.

take several of the natives, but could only seize a woman, and her infant.

Whensoever these savages were inclined to trade, they placed the articles to be disposed of on the ground, and retired in order to give the English an opportunity of putting near it some commodities for exchange. This they examined at their return, and took it, if they approved of it; but, if otherwise, they carried back their first deposit. They informed Frobisher, by signs, that their Catchhoe, or king, was of more gigantic stature than any of the Europeans, and that his attendants bore him on their shoulders. The English wished to know what became of their associates whom they had lost in the preceding year; but all their enquiries proved ineffectual. Having discovered their cloaths, they concluded that the savages had killed, and devoured them.

On the fourth of August, they arrived at places which, in compliment to the countess of Warwick, they called Ann Warwick's sound, and Island. Here they endeavoured to induce the natives either to give some account of themselves, or to engage in traffic; but so ferocious were their dispositions, that they appeared to have no object in view, but the destruction of the English.

It is affirmed, that, at this period, Frobisher did not sail above thirty leagues up the streights, nor beyond queen Elizabeth's Foreland. A naval historian (*h*) hath justly observed that these relations are contradictory, and asks how it was possible that the English should find at the distance of thirty leagues from the strait's mouth, the apparel of their associates, whom they lost on a spot situated thirty leagues farther, unless we suppose that the savages led them thither, for the purpose of murdering them, or at least, accord-

ing

(*h*) Lediard.

ing to one historian (*i*), carried their cloaths to that place.

As, in this region, the winter advanced, Frobisher departed, on the twenty-fourth of August, and, after having been separated from the two barks, arrived at Milford-haven, on the twentieth of September. In the succeeding month, the *Gabriel*, and the *Michael*, reached England, the one entering the port of Bristol, and the other that of Yarmouth. During the voyage, only two men were lost, one of which (the master of the *Gabriel*,) was drowned. The vessels of Frobisher were laden with a kind of shining sand, intermixed with black stones, which, deceived by the information of the refiners, he had concluded to be gold-ore (*k*), (*l*).

VOL. III.

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In

(*i*) Hackluyt.

(*k*) Relatively to this subject, a celebrated naval writer * makes the following remark: "On this occasion, I cannot help taking notice of an accident of the like nature which happened to the mate of a vessel belonging to the Greenland company, sent to make discoveries to the north-west. He brought home likewise a quantity of shining sand which he apprehended contained gold: but, upon trial, it was judged to be of no value, and the ill usage which, on account of this supposed mistake, the poor man met with, broke his heart. Many years afterwards, the chancellor of Denmark shewed a small parcel of this kind of sand, from Norway, to an intelligent chemist, the rest having by his express orders, been thrown into the sea;) and this man extracted a quantity of pure gold out of that sand †, in which also the Copenhagen artist could find none.

* Campbell's lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 569.

† La Peyrere relation du Grœnland, a M. de la Mothe de Vayer, p. 67.—Churchill's voyages, (where this is translated,) V. 1. p. 558.—Egede's natural history of Greenland, Chap. 2. p. 27, 32. Chap. 3. p. 47, 48, 59.

(*l*) The particulars relating to this second expedition are taken from Stowe's annals, p. 680, 681, 685.—Hollingshed, V. 2.

In this place, it may not be improper to present the reader with the observations of a foreigner (*m*) concerning the first voyage of Frobisher.

"In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-six, Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, made the first discovery of that country which is now called New-Greenland; he just obtained a sight of it, but, not being able to reach the shore, on account of the vast quantities of ice, and the approaching winter, he was forced to return home, where he gave an account of his voyage to Elizabeth, who, at that period, swayed the Sceptre in England."

"This great queen sent him, in the following spring, with three other ships, to pursue the former design, on his safe arrival at Greenland. At the approach of this adventurer, and his associates, the Inhabitants deserted their huts, and fled towards the rocks, from which several precipitated themselves into the ocean."

"After the English had in vain attempted to induce these savages to return, they proceeded to their Dwellings, which were tents constructed with the skins of Sea-calves, and Whales, which were affixed to strong poles, and sewed together with the sinews of wild beasts. They were open towards the south, and west, but were closely, and dexterously joined together towards the East, and North, the better to serve as a defence against the severity of the winds which blow from those quarters. Here, the English
"lith

V. 2. p. 1162, 1270, 1271.—Speed, p. 852.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 32, 60.—Collection of voyages, 6 Vols. in folio, V. 1. p. 499.—Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 811.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 569.—Lediard's naval History, V. 1. Folio. p. 166, 167.

(*m*) Captain John Monk's Description of Old, and New Greenland, written originally in the German Language.

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“fish did not meet any living creature, except an old
“woman, who was leading a child, which they took
“from her, and for the loss of which she made a
“dismal outcry.”

“From thence, they sailed along the coast, near to
“which, they observed, above the water, the head
“of a sea-monster, from which a horn projected, al-
“most four feet in length. Having disembarked,
“they found the surface of the earth to be rocky,
“but discovered a fine mould beneath it. They also
“perceived a great quantity of sand, glittering like
“gold; and of this they took the weight of three
“hundred tons.”

“They used their utmost endeavours to obtain a
“conference with the savages, who, apparently were
“not averse from it; and gave them to understand,
“by certain signs, that if they would row farther up
“the river, their expectations should be satisfied.
“Accordingly Frobisher, attended by some soldiers,
“entered within the boat, and, having ordered the
“ships to follow, passed up the river, on the banks of
“which, and amongst the rocks, he perceived num-
“bers of the savages, waiting for his approach. He
“now ordered the men to rest upon their oars, and
“judged it dangerous to venture farther. At length,
“three persons, who seemed of a rank superior to the
“rest, advanced beyond their company, and made a
“signal for him to land. Encouraged by this cour-
“teous behaviour, he made towards the shore; but,
“scarcely had his boat touched the bank of the river,
“when the savages rushed forward, in multitudes; a
“proceeding so alarming that he instantly put off in-
“to the stream. Still the savages endeavoured, by
“signs, to allure them to the shore, and as intice-
“ments threw towards them several pieces of raw
S 2 “flesh.

“flesh. Observing that the English were yet mis-
 “trustful, they attempted to decoy them ashore
 “by a new stratagem. All retired out of sight,
 “except one savage, who, feigning lameness, fell
 “down on the bank, and there lay, in order that
 “the English might come, and take him. As this ar-
 “tifice was suspected, Frobisher ordered one of the ma-
 “riners to discharge a musquet at him, hearing the
 “report of which, he rose and fled. The savages
 “now advanced, and annoyed the English with stones,
 “and arrows; but were soon intimidated by the fir-
 “ing of the guns, and hastily retreated.”

“These savages are extremely treacherous, and bar-
 “barous; nor can they be mollified either by fair
 “words, or by presents. They are strong, and well
 “set, their complexion is of an olive-colour; and
 “their cloaths are made of the skins of sea calves,
 “sewed together with the sinews of wild beasts. The
 “apparel of the women scarcely differs from that of
 “the men. They wear breeches, having several pock-
 “ets, in which they carry their knives, needles,
 “yarn, and looking-glasses, which they did either get
 “from strangers, or sometimes find upon the shore.
 “Their faces are painted blue, and their hair is suf-
 “fered to grow extremely long, hanging down dis-
 “hevelled over their shoulders. Their shirts are com-
 “posed of the guts of fish, sewed together with si-
 “news; their garments are loose, and only fastened
 “about the middle, by a girdle. They are naturally
 “filthy, and so indecent that they freely expose any
 “parts whatsoever of their bodies. All their riches
 “consist in their slings, bows, arrows, and boats.
 “The bows are very slender; the arrows taper and
 “tipped, at the extremity, either with pointed bone,
 “or horn. They manage them with great dexte-
 “rity, and strike the fishes, as they are swimming in
 “the

SIR MARTIN FROBISHER. 277

"the water. Their boats are intirely covered with
 "the skins of Sea-calves, and so constructed as to be
 "incapable of receiving more than one person. Their
 "larger vessels are made of wood, covered with the
 "skins of Whales, and are able to contain twenty
 "men. The sails are made of the guts of fish,
 "sewed together with the sinews of wild beasts; and
 "notwithstanding that there is not the least iron work
 "about their boats, they are so strong, that the sa-
 "vages venture in them on the open sea."

"No venomous creatures are found in these parts,
 "unless we reckon Spiders, and the Gnats, which are
 "troublesome during the summer. Here are no fresh
 "springs; but this deficiency is supplied by melt-
 "ing snow. The dogs belonging to the savages are
 "of a prodigious size, and draw their sledges in the
 "place of horses."

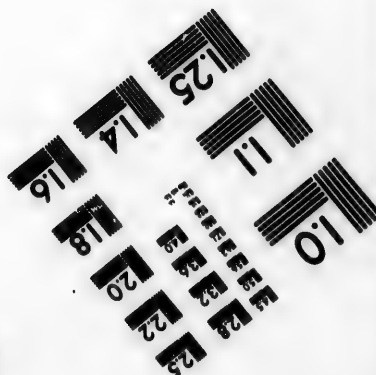
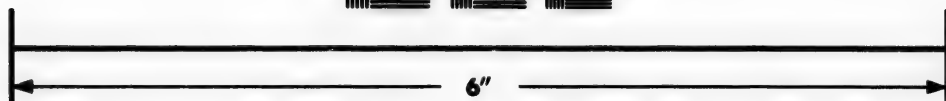
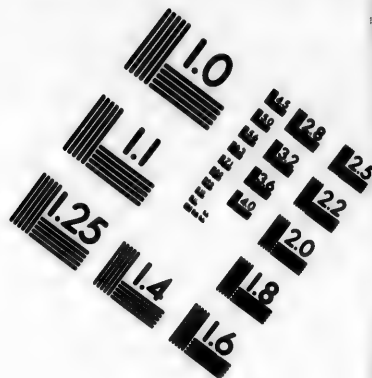
In the year one thousand, five hundred, and se-
 venty-eight, our adventurer undertook his third voy-
 age, for the purpose of discovering a north-west pas-
 sage. On this occasion, numbers, allured by the hopes
 of acquiring gold, were ready to attend him; and fif-
 teen Sail of ships, well manned, and furnished with all
 necessaries, were assembled at Harwich (n). On board

S 3 of

(n) The following is a list of the ships, and their several
 captains.

SHIPS.		COMMANDERS.
Aid, Admiral.	} Captains	Frobisher.
Thomas Allen, Vice-Admiral.		York.
Judith, Lieutenant-General.		Fenton.
Ann-Francis.		Best.
Hopewell.		Carew.
Bear.		Philpot.
Thomas of Ipswich.		Tanfield.
Emanuel of Exeter.		Courtney.
Francis, of Foy.		Moyles.





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of one vessel was a wooden fort, so constructed as to bear dividing into small parts, for the conveniency of carriage. It was intended that this should be erected in the country which was supposed to abound with gold-mines, and where Frobisher, and his associates had formed a design of establishing a colony, to consist of one hundred persons.

On the thirty-first of May, the English set sail from Harwich; and, on the twentieth of June, disembarked at Frizeland, which they named West England. Here, they observed several tents, and people resembling those who dwell at Meta Incognita. At their approach, the people fled, and with such precipitation, that they left a part of their effects behind. This consisted of a box of small nails, some deal-boards, well cut, and several implements which were neatly made. From hence there was reason to conclude either that the natives were artificers, or that they had traded with Europeans.

Soon after their departure, the Solomon, being under both her courses, and top-sails, ran foul of a large whale, and, with such violence, that, for a small space of time, the vessel remained motionless. The creature made a hideous noise, and, after having appeared with its tail, and a part of its body above the water, was observed to sink. On the second day
from

SHIPS.

Moon.
Emanuel of Bridgewater.
Solomon, of Weymouth.
Bark Dennis.
Gabriel.
Michael.

Captains

COMMANDERS.

Upcot.
Newton.
Randal.
Kendal.
Hervey.
Kinnerfly.

Concerning the burthen of these ships, and the number of their men, there is no account.

from this event, they found a dead whale, which they imagined to be the same that had been wounded.

On the second of July, they arrived at Frobisher's streight, and discovered that it was choaked up with ice. Whilst they struggled to pass through it, a violent storm arose, during which the ships were in danger of sinking. The bark Dennis, of the burthen of one hundred tons, was lost, but the mariners escaped. Two other vessels, which had not been seen, during the preceding twenty days; and four, which were the farthest out at sea, got clear of the ice, in seasonable time. Having avoided the danger, by the change of the wind to the north-west, they gained the open ocean, and were driven down, by the current, to the southward of Frobisher's Streight, from whence they ran nearly sixty leagues, into another streight, but, on account of the thick fog, which prevented them from making any observation, were ignorant of their course. At their return from this streight, most of the ships met, and proceeded towards Frobisher's streight, but were much obstructed in their passage by the ice.

At length, after having been exposed to many dangers, the English renewed their course, and, on the thirty-first of July, reached the port of Warwick's Sound, or (as it has been named by Elizabeth,) Meta Incognita.

Here, they disembarked, but without the least view of passing the winter upon the spot, as a part of the moveable fort was lost in the bark Dennis, and the necessary provisions were not arrived. At this period, the ships which had been missing, rejoined the fleet.

Our adventurer now directed the miners to search for gold, and, immediately on the report that the ore answered their expectations, gave orders that a large

quantity of it should be conveyed on board the vessels. As the season was too far advanced to render it probable that the continuance of their enterprize could prove successful, the English made the necessary preparations for their return.

During their stay at the Countess of Warwick's Island, the masons constructed a house with lime, and stone, which they imagined likely to resist the frost, and snow, provided that the savages should not attempt to injure it. In order to divert them from so inhospitable a design, they left within the house such articles as were best calculated to captivate their attention. Amongst these, were bells, knives, looking-glasses, whistles, pipes, and representations, in lead, of men, and women. They, likewise, builded an oven, and left within it bread ready baked; and they sowed pease, corn, and other grain, that they might observe, in the succeeding year, to what produce the soil was best adapted.

On the thirty-first of August, the whole fleet set sail from Warwick Island, and, after a dangerous passage, during which the ships were separated by storms, arrived safely in the English ports, at the commencement of October. The Emanuel, of Bridgewater, which was left behind, with difficulty, forced her passage through the ice, and proceeded northwards, through an unknown channel, full of rocks, into the north sea, on the back of Frobisher's Streight, where that adventurer (and, afterwards, some of his company,) discovered (if their affirmations can be depended on,) a great foreland, near to which (in their opinion,) was the widest passage towards the South sea.

The English, on board of the Emanuel, observed during their homeward course, a large island, to the south-east of Friezeland, and in the latitude of fifty-seven

seven degrees, and thirty minutes. They sailed along the coast of it, for the space of three days, and observed that the land was fertile, and full of wood. Until this period, it had not been discovered by the Europeans (o).

The gallant conduct of Frobisher, whilst he attended Sir Francis Drake, on the expedition to the West-Indies (p); his patriotic services previous to the defeat of the Armada, at which period, he was knighted by the lord high-admiral (q); and his enterprizes in conjunction with Sir John Hawkins, near the coast of Spain (r), have been already mentioned.

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-two, Sir Walter Raleigh equipped a fleet, consisting of fifteen ships, with which it was intended either to surprize Panama, in America, to which place the Spaniards conveyed their gold, in order that it might be afterwards exported to Europe, or to intercept the Plate-flota, after it should have received on board the treasure.

The English were detained, by contrary winds, for the space of three months, within their harbours, and, during this time, the Spaniards, who had received intelligence of their designs, issued orders that no ship should depart from America. Raleigh was not informed of

(o) The particulars of this third voyage are taken from Holinghed, V. 2. p. 1271.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 30. 74.—Introduction to the Collection of Voyages, 6 vols. in folio.—Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 811.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 569.—Lediard's Naval History, folio. V. 1. p. 168, 169, 170.

(p) See from the 115th, to the 125th page of this volume.

(q) See from the 232d, to the 304th page of the second volume of this work.

(r) See the 108th page of this volume.

of the proceedings of the enemy, until he had arrived near cape Finisterre; and soon afterwards, a violent storm arose, in the course of which several of the long-boats were lost. Raleigh now resolved to return to England, and therefore, divided his fleet into two squadrons, intrusting one to the conduct of Sir Martin Frobisher, who was ordered to cruize off the coast of Spain; and leaving the other under the command of Sir John Burroughs, with instructions to proceed to the Azores, and endeavour to intercept the East-India caracks, which were accustomed to touch at these islands, on their passage homewards.

A naval historian (s) hath observed that it was the design of Raleigh to have surprized some place in the West-Indies; but, that being at sea, and having passed two, or three days, in foul weather, the queen was pleased to command him to return, and to commit the charge of the ships to Sir Martin Frobisher, who was sent down for that purpose, but with an express order not to proceed to the West-Indies.

Another writer (t), who is yet more particular in his relation, acquaints us that Sir Walter set sail on the first of May, and that, on the day following, Sir Martin Frobisher, in a pinnace, called the Disdain, met him, and brought letters of revocation from Elizabeth, with orders to relinquish, (for his own part,) the intended attempt, and intrust the execution of every measure to Sir John Burroughs, and Sir Martin Frobisher. He adds that the honour of Raleigh was so far engaged in the undertaking of this voyage, that he could not with reputation, and satisfaction to his friends, leave his fleet, which was now under sail; and, therefore, he put a dubious construction on the letter

(s) Sir William Monfon.

(t) Hackluyt.

SIR MARTIN FROBISHER. 283

letter from Elizabeth, as if it had left him at his liberty either to proceed, or to return, and, without farther hesitation, continued his course, until the advice which he received near cape Finisterre, obliged him to change his resolution.

When the officers were informed of this unexpected alteration, they seemed, in general, desirous of cruizing on their own accounts. Sir Martin, who foresaw that all opposition would be unavailing, coincided with their wishes, and declared that he relinquished his command over those who were unwilling to remain with him.

Previous to their separation, the English intercepted, and took, upon the Spanish coast, a large Biscayan ship, of the burthen of six hundred tons, and freighted with several articles of small iron work, amongst which were horse-shoes, nails, plough-shares, bars, spikes, bolts, locks, and gimblets, valued by the captors, at only six thousand pounds, although to the Spaniards, they had been worth treble that sum. Soon after his departure from the fleet, Sir John Burroughs took a Spanish fly boat, which he first descried near the Rock of Lisbon, and had chased to the southward.

Sir Martin, attended by three ships, continued near the coast of Spain; a dangerous situation, as his vessels were so ill-constructed that they could not out-sail the light frigates of the enemy, and as Philip had a formidable fleet at sea. The perseverance with which the Spanish admiral attended to the motions of the small squadron under the command of Sir Martin, was favourable to Burroughs, who availing himself of the defenceless situation of the carracks, and caravels, attacked, and took them. The circumstances relating to these

these engagements have been already mentioned (u). It is, therefore, sufficient to observe that our adventurer returned before the expiration of the year, to England (x).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-four, Sir Martin Frobisher proceeded on an expedition to Brest, in the Vanguard, and was attended by the captains Fenner, Clifford, and Saville, in the Rainbow, the Dreadnought, and the Acquittance. His orders were to block up the port, whilst Sir John Norris, at the head of three thousand English troops, should begin a regular attack on the land-side. The garrison defended themselves with equal intrepidity, and conduct, until Sir Martin, disembarking his sailors, and desperately storming the place, had the good fortune to carry it. In this action, several of the English captains were slain; and our gallant adventurer received a wound in his side, which, having been improperly treated by his surgeons, turned shortly to a mortification, in consequence of which he died on his arrival at Plymouth, and was there interred (y). He was one of the most enterprising, and able seamen of his time; intrepid to an extreme; possessed of singular presence of mind; and almost equal to any undertaking; yet his freedoms were as unbecoming, as his manners were austere; and that unlimited severity with

(u) See the 212th page of this volume.

(x) The particulars of this expedition are taken from the Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 63, 64, 65. —Camden, p. 680.—Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 682.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 570. —Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. folio, p. 293, 294.

(y) Camden, p. 680.—Stowe, p. 809.—Fuller's Worthies of Yorkshire, p. 203.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 570.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. folio, p. 308, 309.

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with which he maintained a strict discipline amongst the sailors, prevented him from being much beloved (x).

(x). Stowe's annals, p. 808.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 182.—R. Johnstonsi Rerum Britannicarum Hist. p. 203.—The memorable service of Sir John Norris, at Brest, in Bretagne, by Thomas Churchyard, London, 1602. Quarto. p. 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141.—Fuller's Worthies of Yorkshire, p. 202, 203.—Campbell's lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 570.—Lediard's naval history, V. 1. Folio. p. 308, 309.—There is an ancient portrait of Frobisher, on the stair-case, leading to the picture gallery, at Oxford.

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M E M O I R S

O F

Sir RICHARD HAWKINS.

THIS gallant officer (the son of the celebrated Sir John Hawkins, whose memoirs have already been presented to the reader,) was born at Plymouth in Devonshire ; and, as he was endued with equal abilities, and intrepidity, so was he like his father, exposed to equal disappointments, and misfortunes (a). As it is unnecessary to recapitulate the particulars of those services which he performed during the engagements between the English fleet, and the invincible armada, we shall proceed to a detail of enterprizes which have not yet been noticed.

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-three, Sir Richard Hawkins obtained from Elizabeth, a commission under the broad-seal, by which he was empowered to attack the Spaniards, in North America. Having equipped three vessels, at his own expence, and assembled two hundred associates, he set

(a) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 391.

set sail from Plymouth. His great object was to visit China, the isles of Japan, the Moluccas, and the Philippines; and, likewise, to direct his course, by the streights of Magellan, and the South sea. Thus, would he have taken as wide a compass as Drake, Cavendish, and the celebrated navigators who preceded him.

Not to enter into a minute description of those disasters to which he was exposed, at the commencement of this voyage, partly by unfavourable winds, and tempestuous weather, and partly by the perfidy of his mariners, let it be sufficient to observe that he arrived at the island of Saint Ann, where his pinnace was accidentally set on fire. From thence, he proceeded to the mouth of Rio della Plata, where he intercepted, and took a Portuguese ship, on her passage to Angola, and freighted with Cassavi meal, and sugar. He next repaired towards the streight of Magellan, but, on his course, was deserted by captain Thralton (c), who sailed from him in the vessel of which he had the command, and thus, not only rendered the design of Hawkins ineffectual, but laid the foundation of those calamities which he afterwards endured.

On this occasion, our adventurer observes that
 “such desertions, and escapes, are only to pilfer, and
 “steal, as well as by taking of some prize, when they
 “are alone, and, without command, or order, to hinder
 “their bad proceedings, to appropriate that which is
 “in their intrusted ship, casting their fault, if they
 “be called to account, upon some poor, and unknown
 “mariners, whom they suffer, with a little pillage,
 “to absent themselves, the more cunningly to cover
 “their

(b) See from page 232, to page 304, of the second volume of this work.

(c) It was this miscreant who, by a similar act of treachery, had proved the ruin of Captain Cavendish.

"their greatest disorders, and robberies. Doubtless,"
 adds this experienced officer,) "Robert Thralton, in
 "the Fanny, might, if he would, have come unto us,
 "with great facility, because within sixteen hours,
 "the storm ceased, and the wind came fair, which
 "brought us to the streights, and endured many days,
 "after, with us, at north-east. This was good for
 "them, although naught for us. If he had perished
 "any mast, or yard, sprung any leak, wanted vic-
 "tuals, or instruments for finding us, or had any
 "other impediment of importance, he might have
 "had some colour to cloak his lewdness; but the
 "masts, and yards being sound, his ship staunch, and
 "laden with victuals, for two years at the least, and
 "having order from place, to place, where to find us,
 "his intention is easily seen to be bad, or his fault
 "such as worthily deserved to be made exemplary un-
 "to others. All this he manifested at his return by
 "his manner of proceeding, making a spoil of the
 "prize which he took in his way homewards, as also
 "of that which was in the ship, putting it into a port
 "fit for his purpose, where he might have time, and
 "commodity to do what he would. The breach of
 "duty is the more shameful in the English, because
 "those who are injured, either dying through grief,
 "or falling into extreme poverty, are seldom able to
 "prosecute such offences which procured impunity,
 "and tempt others to follow such a bad example;
 "whereas, in Spain, the king's attorney-general takes
 "notice of all such offences of course, and, upon his
 "suit, the perpetrators of them are very severely pu-
 "nished, and to this only may be attributed all their
 "success. In all other things, we are at least their
 "equals; in many things, much their superiors."

Thus deserted, at a considerable distance from any shore, and nearly in the latitude of fifty degrees, Sir Richard, and his associates proceeded, but with uncertainty, on their course. They soon approached a fertile country, the harbours of which appeared commodious, and, on the mountains, were stately forests. As the place was not laid down in any of their charts, they could not even form a conjecture relative to its name. The multitude of fires which were blazing on the coast convinced them that it was populous. But, as they had lost their pinnace, in which they might have discovered the shore before them, it was not possible to come within hail of the inhabitants.

Here, the English cruized, for the space of sixty leagues, from west to north, until, being driven back by contrary winds, they made the streight of Magellan, in January, of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-four, and sailed up to it to the heighth of fifty-six degrees. On the adjoining shore, they discovered quantities of muscles, which were so large and delicious, that they formed the greater part of their subsistence. Most of the shells contained pearls, and, in some, the number amounted to thirty; yet these were not of any size, nor of that bright, orient colour, from which they receive their value.

Having remained, during the space of six weeks, near the islands of this streight, and striven against dangerous, and uncertain currents, Sir Richard proceeded safely into the open sea, and (if we can rely on the testimony of the Spanish historians,) was the sixth person who enjoyed the felicity, and honour of having passed the streight.

From hence, they sailed along the coasts of Chili, and disembarking at Valparizo, plundered the Spanish store-houses, and took five merchant-ships, one of which,

which, laden with Baldivian goods, they detained, but accepted of a ransom for the rest, amounting to two thousand ducats.

They next directed their course to Arica, where they were intercepted, and attacked by eight Spanish ships, on board of which were two thousand men, under the command of Don Bertr nd de Castro. After a long, but ineffectual engagement, the enemy retreated, having been much shattered by the violence of the wind, and weather.

The historian (d) who hath given an account of this action, observes that the English and the Spaniards were scarcely within sight of each other, when they prepared for battle. The winds, and storms proved favourable to the former, and equally detrimental to the latter, whose vessels were severely damaged. The main-mast of the Spanish admiral-ship was snapped asunder, and, soon afterwards, she dropped astern. The vice-admiral lost her main-sail, and the rear-admiral her main-yard, and only one ship of the Armada which had plied to windward could possibly have engaged, but her commander appeared unwilling to come to action. Thus, the two fleets remained, during the whole day, without making an attempt to commit hostilities. When the night advanced, Sir Richard called a consultation of officers, in order to determine what operations might be necessary. At this period, the Spanish admiral-ship, and two others, were stationed a-stern of the English; the rear-admiral-ship was right a-head; the vice-admiral-ship to the leeward; one vessel on the bow, and most of the rest within shot. Sir Richard, and his associates, concluded that it would be prudent to bear up before the wind, and endeavour to retreat between the admiral,

T 2 and

and the vice-admiral-ship. This purpose they fortunately accomplished, previous to the rising of the moon.

The English now directed their course towards the bay of Atacama, and, nearly fifty leagues to the northward of Lima, and within view of the town of Monzon, intercepted, and took a Spanish vessel, of the burthen of one hundred tons, freighted with wheat, sugar, Cardovan skins, honey, and other commodities. Having secured the most valuable part of the cargo, they set the crew ashore, and then burned the ship.

In the mean time, the Spanish admiral, having reinforced his squadron, and procured a fresh supply of ammunition, and provisions, pursued the English, to Atacama, and once more attacked them. At the commencement of the action, the victory appeared doubtful; but, at length, Sir Richard, and his brave associates were overpowered, and driven to the necessity of accepting the offers which the Spaniards made them, of life, and liberty, on condition that they immediately submitted. Before the English struck their colours, every sail had been torn away, the masts were shattered, the pumps were shot to pieces, the decks were broken in, most of the mariners were killed, and water had entered to the depth of seven feet, within the hold. Add to this, that Sir Richard Hawkins was severely wounded; and yet, although his vessel was on the point of sinking, he would not have submitted, but for the earnest intercessions of the crew.

After the English were taken prisoners, the admiral Don Bertrand de Castro, shewed Sir Richard a letter, addressed from the king of Spain, to the vice-roy of Peru, and describing, in the fullest terms, the preparations for the enterprize which was to have been undertaken by the English, the number of their ships, their

their burthen, men, guns, and ammunition; circumstances which demonstrated how close a correspondence Philip maintained with persons who were too well acquainted with the counsels of Elizabeth.

Sir Richard Hawkins continued, during a length of time, a prisoner in America, where he was treated with great humanity by De Castro; yet, at last, in consequence of an order from the court of Spain, he was sent to that kingdom, where he remained for the space of several years, a prisoner in Seville, and in Madrid. In time, he obtained his liberty, and returned to England. Here, he passed the rest of his life in the cultivation of the arts of peace. A part of his leisure hours was employed in writing the history of his life, until that period at which he was taken prisoner by the Spaniards. He had prepared materials for an augmentation of this work, but was prevented from digesting them by sudden death. Having been summoned to attend the privy council, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, in the anti-chamber, and immediately expired.

A naval historian (e) concludes the memoirs of this illustrious adventurer with the insertion of the following remarks concerning his father, Sir John Hawkins, and himself.

“ If fortune had been as propitious to them both, “ as they were eminent for virtue, valour, and knowledge, they might have vied with the heroes of any “ age (f), (g).”

(e) Mr. Campbell.

(f) In the year one thousand, seven hundred, and sixty-one, some of the descendants of Sir Richard Hawkins were living in an obscure station, on the borders of Devonshire.

(g) The particulars of the life of Sir Richard Hawkins are taken from Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 738.—Prince's Worthies

thies of Devonshire, p. 391.—Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, knight, his voyage to the South-Sea, A. D. 1593. Printed for John Jaggard, at the Hand and Star, in Fleet-street.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1367.—Captain Ellis's account, in the same book, p. 1415.—Description of Devonshire, Art. Plymouth, MS. penes me. Westcot.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. folio. p. 297, 298.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 581, 582, 583, 584.

M E M O I R S

O F

Captain JAMES LANCASTER.

CONCERNING the earlier scenes in the life of this celebrated adventurer, our naval historians have been entirely silent. The first preparations in which he is recorded to have been concerned were made for an expedition to the West-Indies. Towards this region, he set sail, as the associate of captain George Raymond, on the tenth of April, in the year, one thousand, five hundred and ninety-one. With their squadron, which consisted of three large ships, the Penelope, admiral; the Merchant-Royal, vice-admiral; and the Edward-Bonaventure, rear-admiral; the English arrived from Plymouth, at the Canaries, on the twenty-fifth of the same month, and, in four days afterwards, renewed their course. On the second of May, they approached the height of Cape Blanco; on the fifth, they passed the Tropic of Cancer; and, on the eighth, reached cape Verd. On the sixth of June, they passed the line, previous to which event, hav-

ing been obstructed in their destined voyage, by contrary winds, they cruized upon the seas, and took a Portuguese caravel, bound for the Braziles, and laden with sixty tons of wine, twelve hundred jars of olives, and various articles of merchandize. On the first of August, and, at a period when numbers of the crew were languishing under the distempers peculiar to the climate, they put into the bay of Agoada de Saldanha. From hence, the Merchant Royal, on board of which were fifty disabled mariners, set sail for England. The companies belonging to the other ships were now reduced to one hundred, and ninety-eight men; and their commanders, with equal humanity, and prudence, consented that, in order to procure a re-establishment of their health, they should remain, during a month, on shore, where provisions were so plentiful, that the natives chearfully gave the English, either a bullock, or a sheep, in exchange for broken knives, and other articles of immaterial value.

Soon after their departure from this place, the English doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and proceeded to Corrientes. Here the Penelope, commanded by captain George Raymond, was separated from the Edward-Bonaventure, in a storm. As her lights were suddenly observed to disappear it was imagined that she had sunk to the bottom of the ocean.

This tempest was succeeded by such violent, and fatal flashes of lightning, that three mariners, whose necks had been distorted by the force of it, perished, almost in the instant from the time at which they had received the stroke. Several of the rest either lost their sight, or were deprived of the uses of their limbs: others were seized with the most excruciating pains, attended with vomitings of blood; and the bodies of some of the unhappy sufferers were stretched, as if they

they had been tortured on the rack. The main-mast was also shattered from the top, even to the deck; and some iron spikes placed ten inches within the timbers, were intirely melted.

From Cape Corrientes, our adventurer, and his associates, proceeded to the islands of Comorro, where William Mace, the master of the *Edward-Bonaventure*, and thirty of the sailors, were attacked, at their debarkation to procure water, and murdered by the savages. Alarmed at this event, Lancaster departed immediately for Zanzibar, on the coast of Melinde, where he wintered, and, on the fifteenth of February, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-two, proceeded towards the Indies. During his course, he intercepted, and took some Turkish vessels, in the service of the merchants of Peru, and, likewise, some Portuguese barks, laden with rice.

An indefatigable historian (a) hath observed that the English amounted only to thirty-three men, at the time when these vessels were taken, and that two of the prizes, belonging to the Portuguese, were ships of great force, the one being of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, and the other of the burthen of seven hundred tons. The last, which had been abandoned by the whole company, consisting of three hundred persons, was freighted with three hundred butts of wine, and sixteen pieces of brass cannon, exclusive of various articles of valuable merchandize. When these vessels had been entirely plundered, Lancaster directed that they should be turned adrift.

The English next directed their course towards Ceylon; from thence they sailed to the islands of Nicubar, near Sumatra; and, afterwards, to the isles of Pinaon, or Pulo-Pinaom, where they arrived in the
Month

(a) Hackluyt.

Month of June, intending to remain there during the ensuing winter ; but a distemper which broke out, towards the close of the year, amongst the crew, the scarcity of provisions, and the mutinous disposition of the mariners, were circumstances so alarming, that Lancaster determined to proceed, with all possible expedition to England. Accordingly, on the eighth of December, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-two, he set sail, with his associates, and, having doubled the Cape of good Hope (*b*), arrived, in the month of April, at the island of Saint Helena, and procured a supply of all necessary provisions. Soon after their departure from this place, they were driven by the trade-winds to the island of Trinidada, in America, where they disembarked in the month of June. From hence, they pursued their course to the island of Mona, near Puerto Ricco, and there the carpenter, five mariners, and a boy, availing themselves of the absence of captain Lancaster, on shore, cut the cable of the *Edward-Bonaventure*, stood out to sea, and made sail for England, where they arrived safely, with a valuable cargo.

When Lancaster, and his companions had remained, during several weeks, in great distress, at Mona, they were so fortunate as to be received on board of a French ship which entered the harbour, and, shortly afterwards, proceeded, on her return to Europe. On the twentieth of May, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-four, our adventurer arrived at Rye, closing a voyage of three years, which, although marked by a series of adversity, and disappointments, proved the means of establishing his reputation, and occasioned him to be considered as the first Englishman who had opened a commercial intercourse with the natives

(*b*) March 31, 1593.

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tives of the East Indies, and laid the basis of mercantile connections at once flourishing, and extensive (c).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-four, Lancaster was appointed to the command of a small squadron fitted out at the expence of some adventurers belonging to the port of London. Exclusive of a pinnace, constructed to take in pieces, for the convenience of stowage, this equipment consisted of three vessels; the Consent, admiral, of the burthen of two hundred, and forty tons; the Solomon, vice-admiral, of the burthen of one hundred, and seventy tons, and commanded by Edmund Barker, of London; the Virgin, under captain John Audley, of Poplar, and of the burthen of sixty tons. The design of these preparations was to annoy the Spaniards, dwelling on the coast of Brazil, in revenge for hostilities which had been attended with the seizure of several valuable cargoes of English merchandize. On the thirtieth of November, Lancaster, and his associates, set sail from Dartmouth, but had not proceeded to the distance of fifty leagues beyond the coast, before a violent storm arose, during which the Consent was separated from the squadron. She rejoined it, not long afterwards, near Cape Blanco, and, at this period, the several ships had taken thirty-nine Spanish, and Portuguese vessels, of different burthens. Of these, four only were detained; the rest, having been plundered, received permission to depart.

The English next proceeded to the island of Mayo, where they framed their pinnace, which was furnished with a mast, sail, and fourteen banks on each side. The command of her was given to an experienced mariner,

(c) Camden.—Hucklupt, part 3. p. 573.—Lediard's naval History, V. 1. Folio. p. 286.

mariner, of the name of Watts, who was to take the charge of landing the men safely at the Braziles. Our adventurer, and his associates, remained at Mayo, nearly three weeks, previous to the expiration of which period, they were joined by captain Venner, in the *Peregrine*, (together with a Biscayan vessel, which he had taken at Cape Blanco ;) and by the *Welcome*, and her pinnace, belonging to the port of Plymouth. The commanders of the vessels (the last of which had been cruizing in the adjacent seas,) agreed to assist Lancaster on the commission of hostilities against the subjects of the king of Spain, on condition that they should receive a fourth share of all the prizes; and they immediately resolved to attack Fernambuco, a town situated on the coast of Brazil, where the inhabitants preserved, for the use of their sovereign, an immense treasure, saved from an East-Indian carrack, which had been cast away near that place.

On the twenty ninth of March, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-five, the English reached the town of Fernambuco, and lay before the harbour, until break of day. In the mean time, the admiral manned his pinnace with eighty sailors, and, rowing, in his boat from ship to ship, directed the several commanders to furnish as great a number of their crews as could be spared, with muskets, pikes, bills, bows, arrows, and other implements of war, in order that they might follow him, and second his attempt to force into the harbour, at the first appearance of the morning. Five small ships, which had been brought from Cape Blanco, and were, on this occasion, supplied only with as many sailors as were sufficient to navigate them, were appointed to enter the port, at the same time, for the purpose of opposing three large Dutch vessels, if they should attempt
to

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to obstruct the passage of the English. In this case, Lancaster had given orders that they should be boarded and grappled; and that his men having set fire to their own ships, should immediately escape in their boats. These directions were, fortunately needless. The Dutch appeared desirous of maintaining a neutrality, and were no sooner convinced of the hostile intentions of the English, than they warped to a securer, and more distant station.

At day-break, Lancaster observed that the boats had been driven below the harbour, more than half a mile to the northwards; a circumstance which, added to the reflux of the tide, prevented them from recovering the harbour, until the afternoon. The inhabitants were now alarmed, and dreading an immediate assault, assembled to the number of six hundred men, and marched forwards to the platform, in order to oppose the landing of their enemies.

It appears to have been the determination of Lancaster, either to conquer, or perish in the attempt. This gallant adventurer gave orders that the helmsmen, and all the rowers of the pinnace, and boats, should run them on shore with such violence that each might be dashed in pieces, and that his associates, deprived of the possibility of retreating, might at once perceive that their sole reliance was on the GOD of BATTLE, their valour, and their arms.

At the flood, the English, in obedience to the directions of their admiral, set every sail, and ran the pinnace, and boats ashore, at a small distance from the fort, and with such excessive violence, that they immediately sunk. At this instant, Lancaster leaped into the water, and was followed by his associates to the shore. Scarcely were they landed when a party

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of the enemy, within the fort, discharged seven pieces of cannon, but in so erring a direction, that most of the balls fell hurtless on the sands, and the only person wounded was a mariner who lost his arm. The English now rushed forwards, and the Spaniards, dismayed at their intrepidity, had not presence of mind to load their artillery, but retiring with precipitation, left the fort in the possession of their assailants.

The admiral, thus far successful, displayed the appointed signal for the squadron to get under way, and, soon afterwards, every vessel had entered within the harbour. The English next directed the cannon of the fort against the high town, whilst an armed multitude marched towards the lower-town, in which were situated the warehouses belonging to the merchants. At the approach of their adversaries, the inhabitants fled to the caravels, and boats, leaving every entrance to the town intirely unguarded.

Exclusive of various articles of valuable merchandize, the plunder consisted of large quantities of Brazil-wood, sugar, calicoes, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, and nutmegs. The admiral directed captain Venner, and his men to take their stations at the southern extremity of the town, whilst the captains Barker, and Addy, proceeded, with their associates, to the other end, leaving the main body of the English in possession of the middle streets. Orders were likewise issued that severe penalties, together with the loss of their plunder, should be inflicted on those persons who without especial leave of the commander in chief, should break open, or enter any of the storehouses. Such was the salutary effect of this regulation that during the whole time that the English remained at Fernambuco, no disorders were committed, nor any booty retained by violence, but in equal shares,

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shares, according to the rank, and quality of the conquerors.

On the day following, the English fortified all that part of the town which extended towards the land, and constructed a strong fort. They next prevailed on the commanders of the three Dutch vessels, for a valuable reward, not only to assist them in their operations, but, afterwards to receive on board the plunder, and convey it to such ports, as the admiral should judge proper. In two days afterwards, an armed multitude of Portuguese, and Indians, appeared before the town, at midnight, and, with hideous outcries, attacked the English. The action, which was short, ended in the total overthrow of the former. On the fifth of April, three French men of war, attended by two pinnaces, sailed into the harbour. At an interview with their officers, the admiral discovered that one of the commanders was the person who had received him on board, at the island of Mona. Happy to embrace an opportunity of gratefully returning the assistance which he had received, in the moment of distress, Lancaster presented his benefactor with a caravel, of the burthen of fifty tons, and permitted the French (who afterwards assisted the English in every action,) to load their vessels with a large quantity of Brazil-wood, and several articles of valuable merchandize.

On the third day from the landing of the admiral, and his associates, a body of the inhabitants, displaying a flag of truce, appeared before the high town, and requested that they might be admitted to an audience. As Lancaster had hitherto succeeded in his attempts, and was not under the necessity of receiving favours from an enemy, he refused to comply with their desires, and threatened to proceed to violent hostilities,

ilities, unless they instantly departed. On the twentieth day, subsequent to this event, the Portuguese, availing themselves of the wind, and tide, sent five fire-ships, amongst the vessels of the English, who, continually on their guard, and suspecting such attempts, entered within their boat, and, throwing grappling irons into the fire-ships, towed them all aground.

In the week following, the Portuguese engaged in a similar, but more dangerous enterprize, and, having made great fires upon large rafts, on which they had erected poles, with fire-spouts at the top, for the purpose of annoying the boats, of their assailants, they set these formidable machines adrift, in hopes that they might consume the vessels of the English. On this occasion, they were equally unsuccessful, and the same men whom Lancaster had before employed, fixed their grappling irons on the rafts, and towed them on shore, where they continued burning until the morning.

At the expiration of thirty days, all hostilities appeared to have been concluded, and the immense plunder which had been taken was safely stowed, on board of Dutch, French, and English ships. At day-break, the admiral, and his associates, prepared for their departure, when, on a sudden, an armed multitude of Portuguese, and Indians, rushed forwards, and began a furious engagement. In this their eleventh, and last enterprize, they still miscarried, and, after a great slaughter, retreated with much disorder, and precipitation. Too eager in the pursuit, and regardless of the orders which had been issued by the admiral, a party of the English were surrounded by the main body of the Portuguese, who had been posted in ambush, and slew thirty-five of their adversaries, amongst whom
were

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were captain Barker, of the Solomon; captain Cotton, the lieutenant under the admiral; captain Jean Noyer, of the port of Dieppe; another French captain, from Rochelle; and Mr. John Barker, an Englishman.

In the following night, when the Portuguese, and Indians seemed too intimidated to renew their opposition against their adversaries, the victorious fleet set sail. It consisted of three Dutch vessels; one of the burthen of four hundred, and fifty tons; a second of the burthen of three hundred, and fifty tons; and a third of the burthen of three hundred tons; five French ships, including that which Lancaster presented to the commander who had received him on board, at Mona; three sail of ships, composing a part of the fleet under captain Venner, of Plymouth; and four ships immediately under the command of Lancaster, all of which were richly laden. The whole armament proceeded towards Peranjeu, an harbour situated nearly forty leagues to the Northward of Fernambuco. As they approached this place, a violent storm arose, during which most of the ships were separated. The squadron under the command of Lancaster was now reduced to four ships; and, with these, after having procured a supply of fresh provisions, he directed his course homewards, and arrived safely in the Downs, in the month of July, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-five. Here, he was informed that the other vessels had returned before him; that the French had reached Dieppe; that captain Venner, with his squadron, had entered the port of Plymouth; and that the other ships belonging to the admiral were at anchor in the river Thames (*d*).

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(*d*) The particulars relating to this expedition are taken from Camden's Annals, p. 683.—Hackluyt, Part 3. V. 2. p. 708.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 584, 585.—Lediard's naval History, V. 1. Folio, p. 304, 305.

The next expedition undertaken by this celebrated adventurer was immediately subsequent to the establishment of an East-India company, of which the first members were Sir John Spencer, and Sir Edward Michelburn, of London, knights; William Candish, Paul Banning, Robert Lee, Leonard Holliday, John Watts, John Moore, Edward Holmden, Robert Hampson, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Campbell, aldermen of London, exclusive of more than two hundred persons of rank, and property.

Without entering minutely into the particulars of the patent granted, by Elizabeth, towards the conclusion of the year, one thousand, and six hundred, let it be sufficient to acquaint the reader that these individuals were formed into a body corporate, and politic, under the title of the Governour, and company of merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies; that they were allowed a common seal, with power to change, or alter it, at pleasure; that the first governour, and twenty-four directors were nominated in the privilege, and power vested in the company to elect a deputy-governour; and likewise to elect a governour, deputy-governour, and twenty-four directors, yearly, for the future. A freedom was granted to them, their successors, and their sons, when arrived at the age of twenty-one, and also to the apprentices, factors, and servants employed by them, for the space of fifteen years, freely to traffic, and use the trade of merchandize, by sea, in, and by such ways, and passages, already found out, or discovered, or hereafter to be found out, and discovered, as they should esteem, and take to be the fittest into, and from the East-Indies; into the countries, and ports, of Asia, and Africa; and into, and from all the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, towns, and places of Asia, and Africa.

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Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the streight of Magellan, where any trade, or traffic of merchandize might be used, or had, to, and from every of them, in such order, manner, form, liberty, and condition, as they themselves should, from time, to time, agree upon.

They were allowed the authority of making reasonable by-laws, and might, likewise, inflict punishment on offenders, either in body, or purpose, provided it were not contrary to the laws of the realm of England. Their outward-bound goods were to be custom-free for the first four voyages; and, then, the custom of all goods exported, which should miscarry, was to be permitted in other goods which might be shipped afterwards. For the customs, and subsidies on other goods, they were allowed six months credit for one half, and twelve months credit for the other half, with a free re-exportation for thirteen months. They were also permitted to export, every voyage, the value of thirty thousand pounds, foreign coin, or bullion, provided that six thousand pounds were coined in the mint belonging to the queen.

Six ships, and six pinnaces, with five hundred mariners, were allowed to be sent yearly to the East-Indies, any restraint notwithstanding, except when the royal navy was going out, and ships, and mariners were wanting.

All others, the subjects of Elizabeth, were, by this privilege, excluded from trading into those parts, under severe penalties, without the assent, and licence of the company, who were allowed the liberty of admitting others into this freedom. They were also obliged to bring in, after every voyage returned, within six months, as great a quantity of silver, gold, or foreign coin, as they should carry out, the first voy-

age excepted. All silver, or gold exported by the company was to be shipped at the ports of London, Dartmouth, or Plymouth. The privilege was not to extend into any place, being in actual possession of any prince, in league, or amity with Elizabeth. If this privilege was found unprofitable for the realm, then, within two years warning, given under the privy seal, the same was to be void; but, on the contrary, if it was found beneficial, then it was to be renewed, with some additions. This privilege was dated on the thirty-first of December, in the year, one thousand, and six hundred.

The merchants included within the patent, having raised a subscription to the amount of seventy-two thousand pounds, and obtained letters of recommendation to the chief princes of India, equipped a fleet of five vessels; the Dragon, admiral, of the burthen of six hundred tons; the Hector, vice-admiral, of the burthen of three hundred tons; the Ascension, of the burthen of two hundred tons; the Swan, nearly of the same burthen; and the Guest, a victualer, of the burthen of one hundred, and thirty tons.

The number of men on board of this fleet amounted to four hundred, and fifty. Exclusive of the necessary provisions, ammunition, and victuals were provided for twenty merchants. To these, were delivered, as a trading stock, twenty-seven thousand pounds, in specie. The remainder of the capital was intirely expended in the equipment of the fleet, and other preparations of importance.

On the thirteenth of February, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and one, this armament sailed from Woolwich, under the command of Lancaster; and, proceeding to Torbay, remained there until the second of May. On the twenty-first of June, and when

when they were within two degrees to the northward of the Line, the English intercepted, and took a Portuguese vessel, on her passage to the East-Indies. The cargo of this prize proved of great service to the captors, and consisted, amongst other articles, of one hundred, and forty-six barrels of butter, one hundred, and seventy-six jars of oil, and fifty-five hogshheads of meal.

On the thirtieth of June, they passed the line ; and, on the twentieth of July, having reached nineteen degrees, and forty minutes of southern latitude, they unladed their victualling ship, called the Guest, and having reserved her masts, yards, and sails, broke down her quarters for fire-wood, and then turned her adrift. On the twenty-fourth, they passed the Tropic of Capricorn, and from thence, (as distempers began to rage amongst the crews,) determined to proceed either to Saint Helena, or Soldamia, for the purpose of obtaining fresh provisions.

On the passage, numbers of the mariners who had long languished under the severities of sickness, were so enfeebled by repeated attempts to assist in navigating the ships, that no circumstance except an actual rest from labour, could have effected their recovery. At this alarming crisis, when the merchants, and chief officers were obliged to work at the helm, and perform the various duties of the common sailors, the fleet approached the harbour of Soldamia ; but in so helpless a condition were the English, that from the crews even of three ships, a sufficient number of mariners was wanting, either to let fall the anchors, or man the boats. Having procured assistance, they disembarked, and engaged in traffic with the natives, who supplied them with live cattle, and the various Commodities of the country.

On the twenty-ninth of October, and at a period when one hundred, and fifty of the English had fallen a sacrifice to distempers, our gallant adventurer, and his associates, renewed their course, and, on the first of November, doubled the cape of Good Hope. On the twenty-sixth, they reached the island of Saint Lawrence, which is situated to the Eastward of Cape Sebastian. On the seventeenth of December, they descried the Southern extremity of the island of Saint Mary; and, on the eighteenth, they cast anchor between that place, and the great island of Saint Lawrence. On the twenty-fifth, they entered the bay of Antongil; and, on the twenty-sixth, anchored in a commodious road, between the small island, and the main. Here, they disembarked, and traded with the natives for oranges, lemons, rice, peas, beans, poultry, and cattle.

On the sixth of March, in the year, one thousand, six hundred and two, they departed from this place, and directed their course towards the Indies. On the ninth of May, they observed the islands of Nicubar, and, on the twentieth, reached the island of Sombbrero. From hence, they set sail on the twenty-ninth; and, on the fifth of June, cast anchor in the road of Achen, at the distance of two miles from the city.

Immediately after his arrival, Lancaster (who had been directed to obtain permission for the settlement of a factory, at Achen,) sent six gentlemen, who were to demand an audience, and delivered the letters, and presents from Elizabeth, to the sovereign of the place. The latter, not ignorant either of the power of the queen of England, or of the reputation which she had acquired by her naval, and military successes against the Spaniards, was overjoyed at the opportunity of doing honour to her subjects, prepared a splendid banquet for the ambassadors, assured them that the ships, and

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and all their crews might remain secure within his harbours, and dispatched a messenger to inform Lancaster that if he chose to disembark, and repair to court, he should find the same gracious reception which might have been expected in the presence of Elizabeth.

On the eighth of June the admiral landed, and attended by the chief officers of the fleet, proceeded to the palace, where he was treated with every mark of favour, and respect, and from whence, after having partaken of a magnificent entertainment, he returned to his own vessel. At a second interview, the king observed that he had felt the highest satisfaction from the perusal of the letters which had been delivered from Elizabeth, and immediately gave orders that two ministers of state should enter into a negociation, with the English, concerning the business on which they had been sent. After several conferences, a league was concluded between Elizabeth, and the sovereign of Achen, who, with his own hands, surrendered to Lancaster, the instrument which contained the grant of several important privileges, and accompanied this gift with the warmest expressions of his inviolable esteem for Elizabeth, and all her subjects.

The rights, and immunities, conferred on this occasion, were

- I. A free entry, and trade.
- II. An exemption from customs on all imports, and exports.
- III. The liberty of making wills, and of disposing of estates, where, and to whomsoever the English might think proper.
- IV. Full security with regard to all bargains, and Payments, in which respect the Achenese were to be

tied down to a punctual, and strict observation of all the measures of justice, and fair dealing.

V. Authority to inflict punishments on their own delinquents, without an appeal to the civil magistrate of the country.

VI. An assurance of justice to be done, on immediate complaint, in all cases of injuries received from the natives.

VII. A freedom from all arrests, either on goods, or prizes.

VIII. Liberty of conscience, and the undisturbed exercise of their own religion.

When these points were intirely adjusted, the merchants endeavoured to procure a large freight of pepper, but, on account of the barrenness of the preceding year, this commodity was extremely scarce, and the price of it much higher than even under such circumstances could reasonably have been expected. At this juncture, the admiral received advice that a sufficient quantity of pepper for the cargo of one vessel, might be procured at Priaman, a place situated at the distance of an hundred, and fifty leagues to the southward of Achen. He, therefore, gave orders that the Swan should sail thither for the purpose of receiving it.

It may, in this place be proper to observe, that the courteous reception which had been given to Lancaster, and his associates, by the king of Achen, excited the jealousy of the Portuguese, who observed with equal anger, and concern, how easily the English had obtained those important privileges which they, with all their interest, and assiduity, were still unable to procure. Eager to effect the ruin of their successful rivals, they attempted, but in vain, through the insinuations

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nuations of their ambassador, to exclude them from the court. The king continued firmly attached, on every occasion, to their cause, and even assisted them to defeat the treacherous combination of their opponents.

On the eleventh of September, the admiral set sail towards the streights of Malacca, in order to cruize against the vessels in the service of the Portuguese. Mean while, the chief merchants, whom the king had promised to take under his protection, were left at Achen, for the purpose of superintending the European trade with the natives of the place. In company with the fleet under the command of Lancaster, were two Dutch ships, of the burthen of two hundred tons, the captains of which offered to bear a part in the adventure, and, by agreement, were to receive an eighth share of the cargoes of such prizes as might be taken.

On the third of October, a vessel appeared in sight, and was soon afterwards intercepted by the Hector, which ship, having discharged a broadside at her, was supported in the engagement by the Ascension. The enemy maintained a brisk fire, during a considerable time, and until her main-yard was carried away by a shot from the Dragon. The night now advanced, and all hostilities appeared to be suspended. At day-break the captain of the vessel came on board of the admiral, and declared that, as all opposition must prove ineffectual, he yielded himself to the mercy of the English. A proper number of officers, and sailors were now sent to take possession of the prize, which was on her voyage from the island of Saint Thomas, in the bay of Bengala, to the streights of Malacca. She was of the burthen of nine hundred tons, and, on board of her, were six hundred persons. Her cargo

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consisted of nine hundred, and fifty packs of callicoes, and various articles of the most costly merchandize.

On the twenty-fourth of October, the admiral returned safely, with his fleet, into the harbour of Achen, and, on being informed that the English agents who remained there, during his absence, had been liberally encouraged, and protected by the king, he made the latter a present of several of the richest commodities which had been taken from the prize.

Having directed that all the spices should be conveyed on board, our adventurer now prepared for his voyage to Bantam. Not long before he sailed, he was admitted to a conference with the sovereign of Achen, who delivered to him a letter, three pieces of cloth embroidered with gold, and a ring set with rubies of immense value. These he was ordered to present, on his arrival in England, to Elizabeth. The king now pronounced, in great form, a blessing on the English nation, and having given to Lancaster a large ruby, as a mark of his esteem, dismissed him, and his associates, with a promise that they should find the same gracious reception, at any future period when they might chuse to re-visit his dominions.

On the ninth of November, they departed from Achen, with three ships, on a voyage to Priaman, and Bantam, to which places the Susan had already sailed, in order to procure a lading of pepper, and other articles of merchandize. In two days afterwards, the admiral dispatched the Ascension to England; whilst the other two ships sailed along the coast of Sumatra, for the purpose of re-joining the Susan. Having crossed the Equinoctial, a third time, they arrived, on the twentieth, at Priaman, where they found the Susan, already freighted with six hundred bahars of pepper, and sixty-six of cloves. She was now ordered to
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compleat her lading, and then sail directly home-wards.

On the fifteenth of December, the English arrived in the streights of Sunda, and came to an anchor within three leagues of Bantam. On the sixteenth, they entered the road, when the vice-admiral disembarked, in order to certify their arrival, and business to the king, and to desire a safe conduct. This monarch sent one of his nobles, with the vice-admiral, to bid the admiral welcome, and to conduct him to the court. The reception which he met with was no less gracious at this place than at Achen. The delivery of the letter, and the service of plate, gave the highest satisfaction; and orders were immediately issued by the king that all freedom of commerce should be granted to the English, and that they should enjoy as ample a protection, as if they were residing within their own country.

The sole misfortune which they experienced during their stay at Bantam, was the loss of their vice-admiral, John Middleton. All other circumstances were accompanied by success; and so uninterrupted was their trade that, previous to the eleventh of February, the ships had received their full loading of pepper, and were in readiness to sail. When the admiral was at the point of his departure, he dispatched several experienced persons in the pinnace to the Malaccas, for the purpose of establishing a trade, and factory, against the next return of the ships from England. He provided also for the security of the commerce, during his absence, at Bantam, leaving there a sufficient number of agents, in order that such articles of merchandize as might be left should be disposed of. At his last audience, he was intrusted with a letter, and
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a present of bezoar-stone, for his sovereign Elizabeth, receiving, at the same time, for his own use, a jewel of the like kind, together with a Java dagger, curiously wrought, and set with pearls.

On the twentieth of February, this illustrious adventurer, and his associates, directed their course for England. On the thirteenth of March, they passed the tropic of Capricorn, and, on the fifth of June, arrived at Saint Helena, after having been exposed to great dangers during the violence of a tempest. It was at this juncture that the *Dragon* lost her rudder; an alarming accident; yet, in the opinion of Lancaster, not sufficient to have justified his conduct, if he had quitted the ship, and, in compliance with the intreaties of his associates, gone on board the *Hector*. In the letter which he addressed to the East-India company, he first mentions this calamity, and next declares that they had every reason to be convinced that his intentions, by thus venturing his own life, and the lives of all the crew, were to preserve (if such a circumstance could be possible,) the ship, and cargo. Although several passages which he wrote bore evident marks of confusion, yet they were equally descriptive of his intrepidity, and zeal in the service of his employers. The postscript of his letter is of too singular a nature to be omitted.

"The passage to the East-Indies lies in sixty-two degrees, and thirty minutes, by the North-West, and on the American side."

From Saint Helena, where the *Dragon* was refitted, and all the ships received a supply of fresh provisions, and other necessaries, the admiral, and his associates, set sail for England. On the twelfth of August, they passed the Tropic of Cancer, and, on the eleventh of

Septem-

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September, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and three, arrived safely in the Downs. After this event, Lancaster retired to the calmer scenes of private life, and, during a course of thirty years, enjoyed the advantages resulting from the riches which were the fruits of this celebrated, and important enterprize (e).

(e) The particulars of this voyage to the East-Indies are taken from Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 57, 58, 59.—Camden's Annals, p. 683.—Hackluyt. V. 3. p. 708.—Purchas's pilgrims, V. 1. p. 147.—Campbell's lives of the admirals, V. 1. p. 584, 585, 586—and Lediard's naval History. Folio. V. 1. p. 376, 377, 378, 379, 380.

MEMOIRS

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The first of the year
has been a very busy one
and the work has been
very hard. The first
part of the year has
been very busy and the
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M E M O I R S

Sir RICHARD GREENVILLE.

IN the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-five, this illustrious seaman, of high descent, but more exalted by his public virtues, prepared for an expedition to Virginia. The vessels which he equipped were the *Tiger*, of the burthen of one hundred, and forty tons; the *Lion*, of the burthen of an hundred tons; the *Elizabeth*, of the burthen of fifty tons; the *Roebuck*, a fly-boat, of the burthen of one hundred, and forty tons; the *Dorothy*, a small bark; and two pinnaces. The chief persons serving immediately under Sir Richard, were Mr. Ralph Lane, Mr. Thomas Cavendish, Mr. John Arundel, Mr. Stukely, Mr. Bremige, Mr. Vincent, Mr. Heryot, and Mr. John Clarke. Of these, a part were captains, and the rest, members of the council.

On the ninth of April, these adventurers set sail from Portsmouth, and, on the fourteenth, fell in with the Canaries. On the seventh of May, they arrived at Dominica, in the West-Indies; and disembarked at Puerto

Puerto Rico, where they continued during a considerable space of time, raised a fort, constructed a pinnace, and gained some advantages over the Spaniards. At their departure from this place, they intercepted, and took two richly-freighted vessels, on their passage from Europe, and, in the service of the king of Spain. On board, were several persons of distinguished rank, and fortune, whose liberty the English placed at a large ransom. After having been exposed to some obstacles, they reached the harbour of Isabella, situated to the Northward of Hispaniola. Here, they traded with the Spaniards, who, fearful of offending them, refrained from the commission of hostilities. On the twentieth of June, they made the continent of Florida, but were in danger of being separated by the violence of a storm, at Cape Fear. On the twenty-sixth, they cast anchor, at the island of Wokoken, in Virginia, where, through the misconduct of the pilot, the Tiger, the admiral-ship, was lost.

At this place, Mr. Lane disembarked, with one hundred, and eight men, and all necessaries, for the purpose of establishing a colony. He was invested with the dignity of chief governour of the settlement, and immediately under him were Mr. Philip Amidas, and nineteen officers of distinction. At this place, Sir Richard stayed no longer than two months, after which period, having made more discoveries in the sound, and towards the southward, he prepared for a return to England, with a valuable cargo, consisting of skins, furs, pearls, and other articles which had been received in exchange for some of the least important commodities of Europe.

On his passage homewards, this illustrious adventurer intercepted, and took a Spanish ship, richly freighted, and of the burthen of three hundred tons; a prize,

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prize sufficiently valuable to indemnify him, for the expences of his enterprize, and with which he arrived at Plymouth, on the eighteenth of October, in the year, one thousand, five hundred and eighty-five. The measures pursued by the new colonists immediately after his departure from the island of Wokoken, are, in this place, foreign to our purpose. We, therefore, proceed to a detail of other events more particularly connected with the subject of this memoir (a).

Sir Richard Greenville is here mentioned in a separate relation (b), because a late excellent historian (c), who, on most occasions, took fire, at the recital of the gallant conduct of a naval officer, informs us of the memorable event which was attended with the death of this celebrated hero, in a style so cold, and unaffecting, that it is almost impossible to discover whether he thought such bravery, intitled to applause, or deserving of our censure (d).

In the narrative of the attack of the Spanish armada, under the command of Don Antonio Batsana, this writer (e) observes that (the vice-admiral under the Vol. III. ch. 10. para. X. ed. 1789. lord

(a) The particulars relating to the voyage to Virginia are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1645.—Hackluyt, part 3. p. 251.—Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 5.—Introduction to a Collection of Voyages, 6 vol. in folio.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. folio. p. 203, 204.

(b) See the 312th page of the second volume of this work.

(c) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 485.

(d) It was the opinion of the lord high-admiral Howard that a portion of intrepid frenzy was requisite to qualify a man for a superior station in the sea-service. Sir Richard seems to have approached nearest to the true spirit of this idea; and, therefore, was (if the maxim be incontrovertible,) the most accomplished naval commander mentioned in the annals of our history.

(e) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 485.

lord Thomas Howard,) Sir Richard Greenville, in the *Revenge*: "was taken through his own obstinacy; for, "when the enemy was in sight, he would not be persuaded that it was the armada, but insisted that it was "the American fleet; and so was fultounded. He sold "his life, and his ship (which was the only one of the "queen's taken in the war,) dearly; for, a man of "war, called the *Ascension*, and a double fly-boat, full "of men, sunk by his side. The *Revenge* was so battered that she could not be carried to Spain, but foundered at sea, with two hundred Spaniards on board; "and as for Sir Richard, he died two days after of his "wounds."

It would, perhaps, be a greater justice to the memory of this exalted hero, should we inform the reader that, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-one, Sir Richard Greenville, in the *Revenge*, was engaged alone with the whole Spanish fleet, consisting of fifty-three ships, on board of which were ten thousand men, including officers, mariners, and soldiers. From the hour of three, in the afternoon, until the day-break of the following morning, this intrepid commander repulsed the enemy fifteen times, although they continually shifted their vessels, and boarded with fresh men. At the commencement of the action, he received a wound; yet he remained on deck, busied in the performance of his duty until eleven at night, when, being again maimed, he was carried down in order that he might be dressed. At this juncture, he received a shot in the head, and, soon afterwards, the surgeon was slain by his side. The powder was now nearly expended, and the small arms were either broken, or become useless. Of all the crew, which, previous to the battle, amounted to one hundred, and three persons, forty

were

were killed, and a great number of the rest wounded. every mast had been shot away, the rigging was cut to pieces, and only the hulk, which it was impossible to navigate, remained intire. At this alarming crisis, Sir Richard proposed to his associates rather to trust to the mercy of GOD than become the prisoners of the Spaniards, and exhorted them to set fire to the ship, and perish, unconquered, amidst the flames. To this equally desperate, and astonishing resolution, the master-gunner, and several of the mariners immediately agreed, but the rest opposed it, and compelled Sir Richard to surrender to the Spaniards (*f*). Soon afterwards, he expired ; and these were the last words of an hero whose name will be revered by Englishmen, whilst any trace of public virtue shall remain amongst them.

“ Here die, I, Richard Greenville, with a joyful, and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life, as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honour. My soul willingly departs this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as every valiant soldier is, in his duty, bound to do (*g*).”

(*f*) During this engagement, the enemy lost four ships, and nearly a thousand men. The *Revenge* sunk soon afterwards ; and, in her, perished two hundred Spaniards.

(*g*) Hackluyt's *Voyages*, V. 2. Part 2. p. 169.—Camden, p. 565.—Sir William Manson's *naval Tracts*.—Purchas's *Pilgrims*, V. 4. p. 1678.—Lediard's *naval History*, V. 1. Folio. p. 274, 275.

1. The first step in the process of the investigation is the identification of the problem. This involves a thorough review of the available information and a clear definition of the issue at hand. Once the problem is identified, the next step is to gather relevant data and information. This can be done through various methods, including interviews, surveys, and document analysis. The third step is to analyze the data and information gathered. This involves identifying patterns, trends, and relationships that may be relevant to the problem. The fourth step is to develop a hypothesis or a proposed solution. This is based on the analysis of the data and information. The fifth step is to test the hypothesis or the proposed solution. This can be done through experiments, simulations, or other methods. The final step is to evaluate the results of the investigation. This involves comparing the results to the original problem and determining the effectiveness of the proposed solution.

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

[illegible]

M E M O I R S

O F

H E N R Y M A Y.

THIS adventurer, one of the associates of captain Lancaster, during his voyage to the East-Indies, was sent by that officer from Hispaniola, on board of a French vessel, commanded by Monsieur de la Barbotiere, in order that the merchants might be informed of his distress.

On the thirtieth of November, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-three, Henry May departed from the port of Laguna, in Hispaniola, and, on the seventeenth of the following month, was cast away on the north-west extremity of the Bermudas. At noon, the pilots, at once intoxicated, and totally inattentive to their duty, persisted in declaring that the ship was twelve leagues to the southward of the islands; an error which proved fatal not only to themselves, but to the majority of the crew, amongst whom only twenty-six, including May, were saved.

After having obtained some provisions on the largest of these islands, which is called the Island of Saint

George, our adventurer, and his fellow-sufferers embraced the earliest opportunity which was afforded by the turn of fair weather, and endeavoured to get off their shattered vessel, and save such of her materials as might prove of service. They were so far successful in this attempt as to secure the tools belonging to the carpenter, some iron work, together with all the sails, and a great part of the tackling. Instead of pitch, they made use of lime, tempered with the oil of tortoises; and this served as a kind of Plaister, with which May, and one of his associates payed the seams of their new vessel^(a), whilst the carpenter calked her. The heat of the weather proved favourable to their operations, and this cement not only dried in a short time, but quickly became as impenetrable as a stone.

These adventurers next made two large chests, which, having been calked in the same manner as the ship, were filled with water, (in which swam thirteen tortoises,) and then placed on each side of the main-mast. This island abounded more with hogs than any other animals; but these were so lean, and filthy, that it was impossible to eat them. The chief aliment of the English consisted of the tops of the Palmeto-Berries. Of these, they made bread. The juice which flowed from the same tree, became their liquor; and, with the leaves, which were more than an ell in length, they covered their cabins, and formed their beds.

On the eleventh of May, and after they had remained during five months upon the island, they set sail, and on the twentieth, reached Cape Breton, near Newfoundland, from whence, after having procured a
sup-

(a) It was constructed with cedar which they had felled on the island.

supply of wood, and water, together with such commodities as the savages were inclined to relinquish in exchange for trifling articles of European merchandize, they departed for the bank. Here, they were joined by several English vessels; and, in one of these, Henry May arrived at Falmouth, towards the middle of the month of August, and in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-four (b).

It was on this occasion that the English received the first intelligence concerning the Bermudas, or Sommer-islands. Whence they derived their names, is gathered from the writings of an historian (c) whose labours have been often serviceable to the collector of these memoirs.

It is very probable that although the English were not the first discoverers of these islands, yet they were the first inhabitants of them, as they were situated at such a distance from any part of the continent of America, that the Indians, who were ignorant of navigation, could not possibly have sailed to them.

Various are the reports concerning the reasons why these islands obtained the name of Bermudas. By some historians they have been called the Islands of Hogs; and Oviedas remarks that when he approached the Bermudas, he conceived a design of setting some hogs ashore, in order that the breed might be increased; but the ship was driven from the place, during the violence of a storm, nor did he again attempt to reach it.

The most probable account is, that these islands obtained their names from one John de Bermudas,

X 4

who

(b) Smith's General history of Virginia, p. 172.—British Empire in America, V. 2. p. 361.—Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 574.—Lediard's naval history, V. 1. Folio. p. 302.

(c) Lediard's naval History, V. 1. Folio. p. 301.

who discovered them on his voyage to the Spanish West-Indies, and, at a period several years prior to the shipwreck of Henry May. It hath been remarked by some writers, that this adventurer landed on them; yet, allowing that they took their name from him, this circumstance appears improbable. Another author (d) affirms that they were so called from a Spanish ship, the Bermudas, which was wrecked on the island, and laden with hogs, for the West-Indies. These swam ashore, and, afterwards, increased to an amazing number. How the Spaniards escaped from thence is uncertain; yet, we may infer that the Spaniards landed there, not willingly, but, either to avoid the violence of a tempest, or after having suffered shipwreck. Several crosses, pieces of Spanish money, and commodities which must have been manufactured in Europe, were found upon the place. Wrecks of ships had been observed floating on the water, and broken pieces of masts were discovered lying within the cavities of the rocks. Amongst these materials, several appeared to have belonged either to the Spaniards, the Dutch, the Portuguese, or the French.

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-two, Philip, king of Spain, assigned them over to Ferdinando del Camelo; but this favourite never entered into possession of the gift. They obtained the name of Sommer Islands, from Sir George Sommers, who, with Sir Thomas Gates, was shipwrecked on the spot, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nine.

(a) Smith's General History of Virginia, p. 172.

M E M O I R S

O F

WILLIAM PARKER.

IN the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-six, this brave officer (a native of Plymouth,) equipped, at his own expence, a vessel, called the Prudence, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons, and the Adventure, a bark, of the burthen of twenty-five tons, and commanded by Richard Hen. With these, on board of which were an hundred chosen mariners, he, in the month of November, in the same year, set sail from Plymouth.

The first place at which they touched, in the West-Indies, was the island of Margarita, on the coast of the continent, where they took a Spanish gentleman, and other persons, prisoners, whom they soon afterwards exchanged for Mr. James Willis, and other Englishmen, who had been detained, in confinement, at Cumana. From Margarita, they proceeded to Jamaica, where they joined Sir Anthony Shirley, who, not long before, had taken the chief town of the island. They next sailed, on the sixth of March, in the year, one thousand,

sand, five hundred, and ninety-seven, towards the cape of Honduras; having formed a design of surprizing the strong fortress of Truxillo. On the thirty-first, they ventured within cannon-shot of it, but, perceiving that their intentions were discovered, and having cause to imagine that an enterprize of this nature could not be attended with success, departed, on the second of April, farther up the gulph, and, on the seventh, attacked, and reduced Puerto de Cavallos. The plunder, on this occasion, proved more inconsiderable than, from a previous information, they had reason to expect.

These adventurers next formed a design of proceeding, by land, towards the south sea, and had constructed a pinnace which might be taken into six pieces, and, when necessary, fitted together by screws. Various, and unforeseen obstacles, rendered this project abortive, and they returned to Truxillo; from whence Sir Anthony sailed alone.

Captain Parker now directed his course to Cape de Catoche, which is situated eastward of Yucatan, and cruized along the northern part of the promontory, as far as Cape Desconoscido. Here he entered, with fifty-six of the crew, into a Periago, or long Indian canoe, and leaving the ship, at the distance of three leagues, proceeded, at the hour of three in the morning, to the town of Campeche, which he surprized, and took. During the action, the governor of the place, and the alcaide were made prisoners. These advantages reflect more honour on the English, as five hundred Spaniards were within the place, and eight thousand Indians dwelled at the two adjacent towns. When the Spaniards, who fled on the first assault, had recovered from their terror, they poured down in multitudes, and, with great fury, upon the small company of the Eng-

English, the captain of whom was wounded in the breast, and five of his associates were killed in the first moment of the attack. At this juncture, captain Parker, and his companions, secured the bodies of the dead, and, recurring to a successful stratagem, made an honourable retreat, under flying colours, and with beat of drum. Having taken prisoners several of the townsmen, they bound them together by a cord, and placed them in front, in order that they might receive the fire of the Spaniards, who desisted from hostilities, when they foresaw that the consequences might be fatal to their own party.

Having reached the haven, the English seized a frigate, on board of which were many valuable articles of merchandize, exclusive of the tribute belonging to the king of Spain, valued at five thousand pounds Sterling, and intended to be transported to Saint Juan de Ulloa. When this prize had been taken in tow by the *Periago*, and left in charge with the first lieutenant of the *Prudence*, captain Parker, and his associates, passed over to the opposite shore, where they reduced to ashes the Indian town of Sebo, and carried off from the adjacent country Campeche wood, wax, and honey. As the English passed near Cape de Cotoche, the Spaniards, in two frigates, which had been fitted out at Campeche, took the *Adventure*, and, having erected a gallows, executed captain Hen, and thirteen of his crew. The *Prudence* returned to Plymouth, at the beginning of July, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and nine-six (*a*).

The next important expedition undertaken by this celebrated adventurer was for the purpose of annoying

(*a*) Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 602.—Lediard's naval History, V. 1. Folio, p. 351.

ing the Spaniards, and the Portuguese, in the West-Indies. The fleet equipped consisted only of two small ships, a pinnace, and two shallops, commanded in chief by Parker, under whom the captains Edward Giles, and Philip Ward, acted as land-officers, and the captains, Fugars, Loriman, Ashley, and other gentlemen, as volunteers. The vessels were the Prudence, admiral, of the burthen of an hundred tons, and manned with an hundred, and thirty persons, including officers, and mariners; the Pearl, vice-admiral, of the burthen of sixty tons, having sixty, men, and being commanded by Robert Rawlins; the pinnace, of the burthen of twenty tons, and manned with eighteen sailors.

In November of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and one, these adventurers departed from Plymouth, and proceeded safely to the south cape, where a violent storm arose, during which they lost their pinnace, and all the men belonging to it, excepting three. From hence, they directed their course towards the islands of Cape de Verd, on one of which, called Saint Vincent, captain Parker disembarked, and, at the head of an hundred men, attacked, plundered, and reduced the town to ashes.

They next passed over to the coast of the continent, and when they had reached La Rancheria, or the pearl fishery, in the small island of Cubagua, they prepared to land, for the purpose of attacking the fortress; an enterprize from which they were not deterred, although informed that the governour of Cumana, and a large body of troops were in readiness to defend the place. At the commencement of the action, the victory appeared doubtful; but, at length, the Spaniards yielded, and the English took possession of the fortress, made several prisoners, and secured the
barks,

barks, and boats, all of which were ransomed with the value of five hundred pounds, in pearl.

From hence, captain Parker and his associates, sailed immediately for Cape de la Vela, where they intercepted, and took, a large Portuguese ship, of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, and bound from Angola, and Congo, to Carthagena. On board, exclusive of an inconsiderable Cargo, were three hundred, and seventy negroes, for which, together with the vessel, a ransom was accepted, amounting to five hundred pounds. The English next proceeded to the island of Cabecas, where an hundred men, under the command of Parker, sailed, in two small pinnaces, and two shallops, to the island dos Bastimentos. Here they landed, and having prevailed on some negroes to be their guides, returned on board, and, on the seventh of February, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and two, entered the river of Puerto Bello. As the moon shone when they approached the haven, they were discerned, and hailed by the sentinels, posted near the strong castle of Saint Philip, in which were a powerful body of troops, and thirty-five pieces of brass artillery. On board of the Prudence, were some mariners who understood Spanish, and these were ordered, by captain Parker, to answer, in that language, that they were the subjects of Philip, engaged in his service, and then arrived from Carthagena. The commanding officer at the castle directed that they should come immediately to an anchor. They obeyed, but, in less than an hour from this event, a chosen party of thirty men, headed by their chief, quitted the pinnaces, and entering within the boats, proceeded to the town of Triana, where, notwithstanding that an alarm had been given, they disembarked, and having
set

set fire to the place, marched, unresisted, to the adjacent large, and rich town of Puerto Bello.

As they approached the royal treasury, they observed a body of soldiers, and two brass field-pieces, well mounted on their carriages, and drawn up in readiness for action. The first discharge of fire-arms proceeded from the Spaniards, at which instant both parties engaged with equal fury, until at length, several of the English were slain; and the rest must have submitted, if the captains Fugar, and Loriman, (commanders of the pinnaces,) hearing the report of guns, had not hastened with an hundred, and twenty of their associates, to the support of Parker. This unexpected relief procured the English a decisive victory, and the Spaniards attempted to preserve themselves, by flight. Several entered within the palace, and, being pursued, made a gallant, but ineffectual resistance. Ten thousand ducats were seized within the treasury, by Parker, and his associates, who had reason to lament that they were not so fortunate as to have conquered the place, in the preceding week, when the treasure contained within the royal coffers amounted to one hundred, and twenty thousand ducats, and afterwards composed a part of the lading of two frigates, which had sailed for Carthagena. The inconsiderable quantity of money, plate, and merchandize, seized within the town, was divided amongst the soldiers, and Parker reserved only two light transports, which were taken up the river.

When this brave adventurer had kept possession of the town during two days, he, in that spirit of humanity which, at an *Æra* when conquerors were generally unmerciful, must have reflected the brightest lustre on his character, gave orders that no buildings
what-

whatsoever should be set on fire ; and satisfied with the honour of having reduced one of the finest towns in the Spanish West-Indies, by the assistance of a small force, released the prisoners, (amongst whom were Don Pedro de Melandez, the governour ; his secretary, and several officers of distinguished rank,) and generously refused to accept of the ransoms which they offered. Such a conduct should have secured him from the future insults of the Spaniards ; yet, at his departure, they discharged their artillery at his ships, and endeavoured, but in vain, to disable them from sailing.

On the sixth of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and two, this intrepid adventurer, and his associates, returned to Plymouth-Harbour, and landed amidst crowds of people, who loudly testified their approbation of a conduct which even enemies had mentioned with applause (*b*).

(*b*) Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 747.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1243.—Supplement to Prince's Worthies of Devonshire.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 586, 587.—Lediard's naval History. Folio, V. 1. p. 380, 381.

M E M O I R S

O F

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

The FIFTH PERIOD.

From the ACCESSION of JAMES, the FIRST, to the
DEMISE of CHARLES the FIRST.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS
TRANSACTIONS, during the REIGN of JAMES,
the FIRST.

UNDER the necessity of confining ourselves, through the succeeding part of this work, almost exclusively to the relation of naval, and commercial events, we shall not enter into the least detail concerning a multitude of circumstances which attended the commencement of the reign of James, but proceed to an enumeration of Occurrences more immediately connected with our subject.

At the accession (a) of this monarch, a Squadron (b), under the joint command of Sir Richard Levifon,
VOL. III. Y and

(a) March 24, 1662.

(b) The chief ships were the Repulse, the Mary-Honora, the Defiance, the Warpight, the Rainbow, the Dreadnought,

and Sir William Monson, was cruizing near the coast, but, on the day after the decease of Elizabeth, approached the Downs, where an express arrived from the privy council, which directed the admirals to prepare, with all the ships, for a vigorous defence against the expected attacks of the French, and Spaniards. The people were, notwithstanding, agreeably convinced, by the early, and peaceable declarations of foreign powers, that this alarm was groundless; and James, who received assurances that the court of France was not inclined to call his right in question, and that the archduke had given proofs (c) of his attachment to the English, issued orders for the fleet to sail immediately to Chatham, and cast anchor within the harbour (d).

Previous to the conclusion of this year, several merchants, belonging to the port of Bristol, entered into a subscription for the purpose of defraying the expences of a voyage to the northern district of Virginia. Having obtained a letter of licence from Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom Elizabeth had granted an exclusive patent, they equipped, with a disbursement from their stock, which amounted to a thousand pounds, two vessels; the Speedwell, of the burthen of fifty tons, commanded by captain Martin Pring, under

nought, the Quittance, and the Lion's Whelp. Of these, the commanding officers were Sir Richard Levison, Sir William Monson, and the captains Gore, Seymour, Trevor, Reynolds, Howard, and Polewheele.

(c) He revoked his letters of reprisal against the English, and issued an edict for the establishment of a free, and lawful traffic into Flanders; a privilege from which the merchants of Elizabeth had been debarred, throughout a war which lasted until the expiration of eighteen years.

(d) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 510 — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 4.

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der whom were thirty officers; and the Discoverer, Martin Brown, master, together with a mate, and eleven mariners, including boys. On board, were provisions sufficient for the consumption of eight months, and all kinds of apparel, tools, and trinkets, for the purpose of establishing a commerce with the natives of those countries which it was designed to visit.

On the tenth of April, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and three, these adventurers, accompanied by Robert Saltern, the chief director of the enterprise, set sail from Milford-Haven, and, having passed the Azores, approached, during the month of June, and, in the latitude of forty-three degrees, a Multitude of small islands, on the northern coast of Virginia, all of which, and likewise the opposite continent, they carefully surveyed, but, as they were unable to discover any inhabitants, or procure sassafras, the chief commodity in search of which they disembarked, captain Pring gave orders that they should proceed to Savage-Rock. Here, they descried some inhabitants on the main land, but could not find any sassafras. They, therefore, departed from this place, and bore into the great gulph which Gosnoll (e) had overshot in the preceding year. They now discovered people, on the northern, and southern sides of it, and nearly in forty-eight degrees. To this place, where they obtained an interview with the natives, and designed to take in their cargo, they gave the name of Whitfun-Bay.

Toward the conclusion of the month of July, the Discoverer, having been freighted with sassafras, proceeded on her voyage homewards, and, in fourteen days from this period, was followed by the Speedwell,

Y 2 laden

(e) See the 428th. 429th. and 430th. pages of the second volume of this work.

laden with the same commodity. On the second of October, the vessels arrived at Kingrode, but brought nothing remarkable from the country to which they had sailed, except one of the boats used by the natives. It was constructed with the barks of birch-trees, fastened by twigs, and the seams were payed with turpentine. Although seventy feet in length, four in breadth, and capable of carrying four persons, the weight of it did not exceed sixty pounds (*f*).

The next naval expedition was undertaken in the Elizabeth, of London, a bark of the burthen of fifty tons, and commanded by captain Bartholomew Gilbert, who, in the preceding year, had accompanied Gosnoll to Virginia. On the tenth of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and three, this adventurer, and his associates, departed from Plymouth, and, in their passage, traded at Saint Lucia, Dominica, and Nevis, on the last of which islands they cut nearly twenty tons of lignum vitæ. From hence, they set sail (*g*) towards the coast of Virginia, intending to touch at Chesapeake-Bay, for the purpose of inquiring whether the persons whom Sir Walter Raleigh had left on the adjacent land, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-seven, were yet living. On the twenty-fifth of July, they approached the mouth of the bay, but were prevented from entering it by the violence of a contrary wind, which soon afterwards obliged them to bear more to the eastward.

On the twenty-ninth, and when the English were at a short distance from the land, Gilbert, accompanied by six of the most resolute of his associates, rowed towards

(*f*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1654.—Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 18.—Harris's Collect. Part 1. p. 816.—Lediard's naval History. Folio, V. 2. p. 399.
(*g*) July 3d.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 341

wards an apparently unfrequented part of the country, and, disembarking, with three others, marched, under arms, through a large wood, at the extremity of which they were attacked, and overpowered by the inhabitants, who slew the whole party, and immediately afterwards ran in pursuit of the two Englishmen who were left to take care of the boat, and who, with difficulty, reached the ship, and informed the crew of the melancholy fate of their companions.

Intimidated by this event, Henry Sute, the master of the Elizabeth, who now assumed the command, and had, under him, only eleven mariners, including boys, prepared for an immediate return to England, and, notwithstanding that the wood, and water were almost expended, weighed anchor, and stood out to sea. No remarkable occurrence arose during the voyage, which was concluded by the arrival of the vessel, at the mouth of the Thames, on the thirtieth of September, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and three (*k*).

It may, in this place, be necessary to acquaint the reader that a naval historian (*i*) makes mention of a voyage of discovery towards the north, performed in a ship called the Grace, of the burthen of fifty tons, and commanded by captain Stephen Bennet, who sailed as far as seventy-four degrees, and thirty minutes (*k*). Concerning this enterprize, we meet with no remarkable particulars, and it is only necessary to add that it was the first voyage to Cherie island, a name borrowed

Y 3

(*h*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1656.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 816.—Lediard's naval History. Folio, V. 2. p. 399.

(*i*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 566.

(*k*) A. D. 1603.

rowed from that of the adventurer who bore the expence of the discovery.

The discerning writer (*l*) whom we have taken for our guide, observes that the accession of James furnished the house of Austria with a favourable opportunity to terminate the tedious war with England; because, during that time, they had been at amity with Scotland (*m*). Immediately after the arrival of the king at London, he was waited on by an ambassador from the arch-duke, in consequence of whose negotiations, a peace took place between the English and the Spaniards (*n*). Several historians of that *Æra* remark that the success of it was owing to the enormous bribes which were given to all the ministers of the king, but especially to the countess of Suffolk, who had prevailed on her husband to interest himself in this cause, and to the earl of Northumberland, who had laboured to promote it, by every mean within his power. From such gratuities we are informed that these lords drew considerable resources for the construction of Audley-End, in Essex; and Northumberland-House, in the Strand (*o*). On this occasion, even the lord high-admiral, Nottingham, did not escape censure, and insinuations were thrown out that he accepted

(*l*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 5.

(*m*) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 229.—Sully's Memoirs, V. 3. B. 14, 15.—Wilson, p. 673.

(*n*) Stowe, p. 825.—Speed, p. 884.—Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 3.

(*o*) Osborne's traditional Memoirs of the reign of James, V. 2. p. 105.—Sir Anthony Weldon's court, and character of James, p. 26, 27.—Historical View of the Negotiations between the courts of England, France, and Brussels, from the manuscript State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes, by Doctor Birch, p. 222, 223, 224.

cepted of ample bribes. Our historian (*p*) deems it more reasonable to conclude that this peace was the effect of the king's inclination, supported by the advice of his most eminent statesmen, some of whom were known to have approved of this measure, during the reign of his predecessor (*q*). A treaty of alliance, and one also of commerce, were signed at London, on the eighteenth of August, in the year, one Thousand, six hundred, and four (*r*), in the presence of the constable of Castile, the first subject in Spain, who was sent to England, purposely that he might bear witness to this event. The satisfaction which the commercial part of the nation at first received from the conclusion of the treaties was afterwards much abated by the singular, and impolitic conduct of the king. He established a company of merchants, to whom were granted an exclusive privilege of managing the Spanish commerce; a measure which gave an offence equally just, and universal, for, as the whole nation had borne the charges of the war, and trade in general had suffered in consequence of it, what could be more reasonable than that the benefits of peace should prove entirely as diffusive? This Evil was, notwithstanding, of short continuance, and the parliament represented in such striking colours, to James, the mischiefs which would inevitably ensue from so odious a monopoly, that he submitted to the dissolution of the recently erected company, and left the Spanish trade quite open to all his subjects (*s*).

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(*p*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 6.

(*q*) Life of lord Burleigh, in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*,

P. 54.

(*r*) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 16. p. 579, 596.—Stowe's *Annals*, p. 346.

(*s*) Detection of the Court and State of England, by Roger Coke, Esquire, p. 27. Edit. 1696.—Act 3. James I.

C. 6.

It must however, adds the same writer (t), be acknowledged that a powerful party opposed the conclusion of this peace, and, incessantly, published their dislike of it, and apprehensions of the effects which might ensue, even after it had taken place (u). The point was certainly of high importance, or it could not have been so warmly canvassed, during that Æra, or so differently discussed at a later period when modern historians dissented as violently as his contemporaries relative to the policy pursued by James, on this occasion. Although a full investigation of the point might lead us too far from our prescribed limits, yet we must accede to the opinion (x) that to pass it intirely over would be wrong, considering the near relation which it bears to the subject of this work. With our authority (y) we shall rest contented with stating the most conclusive reasons that have been offered against the peace, as they were drawn up by the masterly hand of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the replies thereto, both of which we leave to the consideration of the reader, unwilling to trespass on his patience with any comments of our own (z).

These reasons (which are five in number,) turn chiefly on the inability of the king of Spain to continue

C. 6. It is here observed that such a monopoly tended to abate the prices of English wools, and cloths.

(t) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 7.

(u) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 75, 93, 101.—Wilson.—Osborne.

(x) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 7.

(y) Ibid.

(z) These which were possibly the very points of his memorial to the king, against the treaty, are to be found in Sir Walter Raleigh's Dialogue between a recusant, and a Jesuit, amongst the genuine remains, published at the end of an abridgment of his history of the world, by Philip Raleigh, Esquire, 8vo. p. 1700.

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nue the war, and the immense profits which he was likely to reap from the conclusion of the peace. First, Sir Walter alledged that "his Catholic Majesty had so "exhausted his treasure that he was no longer able "to maintain the army of the archduke in Flanders." To this it was answered that the fact was very doubtful, especially if the king of Spain was in a condition to bestow those immense bribes which were supposed to have been distributed at the time when this peace was made. Secondly, "the interruption of his trade, "and the losses of his merchants were so great as to "break his two banks, at Seville." It was granted that the subjects of the king of Spain suffered excessively by the continuance of this war, yet it did not follow that the English reaped advantages in proportion; neither was it clear that if his Catholic Majesty had been ruined, the king of Great Britain, or his subjects, could have become gainers. Thirdly, Sir Walter, felt "apprehensions that the English, and Netherlanders "would plant in the West-Indies." It was objected that if this fear drove him to grant the English better terms, the advantage became theirs; if not, they could have obtained little by settling in those parts of America which were claimed by Spain; and it was never alleged that the English made this war, in order to extend the trade, or to procure countries for the Dutch. Fourthly, it was observed that "the king of "Spain made this peace to recruit his own coffers, "and to enable himself to break into the war again." To this it was answered that to judge by what was past, such could not well be the motive; for it could hardly be supposed that Spain would soon recover as great strength as she enjoyed at the commencement of the war, when yet she was unable to execute her own projects, or to defend herself against the English. Fifthly,

Fifthly, Sir Walter remarked that "the king of Spain took this step, that the English might decline, and forget the passages, and pilotage to the West-Indies, and their sea-officers be worn out; for, except a little trade for tobacco, there is not a ship that sails that way; and seeing that the Spaniards may hang up the English, or put them to death, by torments, as they do, and that the English dare not offend the Spaniards in those parts, a most notable advantage is gotten in the conclusion of the peace! It is certain that the English will give over the navigation, to the infinite advantage of the Spanish king, both present and future."

Relatively to this subject, a naval historian (a) observes that experience shewed that the deduction of Raleigh, although plausible, was not true; for, in consequence of this peace, many plantations were settled by the English, and their trade to America, in particular, as well as their commerce in general, flourished beyond the example of former times. He judiciously adds that instead of objections which are easily framed against the best measures, by men of quick parts, and great political knowledge, it would have been more to the purpose to have shewn what advantages the English were to reap from the continuance of the war, and how it might have been better ended at last, than by such a peace as was now made.

This treaty, which was received with such dissatisfaction at home, proved equally the cause of murmurs in several of the states abroad (b). The Holland-
ers,

(a) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 9.

(b) Birch's view of the negociations between England, France, and Brussels, p. 287.—Winwood's Memorials, V.

ers, who were now left deprived of that support which results from a powerful alliance, and who had reaped such important advantages from the favour of Elizabeth, were exceedingly irritated at a measure which tended so closely to their immediate prejudice: As they were still sufficiently formidable not only to cope with the Spaniards, but also to make a greater figure than most other nations, on the ocean, they lost that respect which was due to the British flag, and began to assume a kind of equality, even in the narrow seas. This was quickly represented to the king as an indignity not to be borne, and thereupon he directed a fleet to be fitted out, the command of which was given to Sir William Monson, who received instructions to maintain the honour of the British flag, and that superiority which the sovereigns of England (the ancestors of James,) had enjoyed on their surrounding ocean (e). This fleet first put to sea in the spring of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and four, and cruized annually under the same admiral, who seems to have been an officer of singular intrepidity, and great experience, and (as we learn from his memoirs,) served in the first man of war fitted out in the reign of Elizabeth, and was an admiral in the last fleet

2. p. 453, 454.—Mr. Campbell * observes that, by comparing these books, the reader will see that king James was not so pusillanimous a prince, in respect to foreign affairs, as he is generally represented, but had spirit enough to demand satisfaction for an insinuation of this sort, by prince Maurice, to the states, and steadiness enough to insist upon, and obtain it.

* *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 10.

(c) *Winwood's Memorials*, V. 2. p. 27, 34, 36, 55.—*Sir Anthony Weldon's Court, and Character of King James*, p. 48 49.—*Sir William Monson's naval Tracts*, p. 237.—*Rapin*, V. 2. p. 170.

fleet which that princess sent to sea. Under all these advantageous circumstances, he, notwithstanding, felt a difficulty in executing his commission. Whensoever he conferred with the chief officers of the Dutch ships, they answered in the most soothing language, and promised that their future conduct should be regulated by a full submission to the naval superiority of the English; yet, soon afterwards, in open violation of their engagements, they seized the vessels in the service of James, on the most frivolous pretences, and treated the crews with an unexampled severity, until the admiral, incensed by these daring provocations, began to make reprisals, and threatened to hang, as pirates, individuals whose actions had already denoted them to be lawless. At this period, also, warm contests arose relative to the superiority of the flag, and originated from some instances of temporary respect shewn to the Hollanders, during the preceding reign, when they sailed on joint expeditions, under the command of English admirals, and were, on that account, treated as if they had been the natural born subjects of Elizabeth; a favour which they now pretended to claim as a prerogative due to them, in quality of an independent state (*d*).

It is needless to apologize for the insertion of an extract from the words of Sir William Monson, as they are so strikingly descriptive of the spirit with which that justly celebrated officer insisted on satisfaction from the Dutch, in consequence of which the right of the English flag, which hath been so firmly supported on every later occasion, was established with regard
to

(*d*) Seldeni *Mare Clausum*, lib. 2. cap. 26.—Mollov *de Jure Maritimo*. Tit. Flag.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 2. p. 11.

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to this republic. We introduce a narrative of this memorable event, the rather (to use the words of an excellent historian (e),) because there are multitudes who will scarcely believe that matters of this nature were carried so far (perhaps, as far as they were carried,) under so pacific a prince as James.

"In my return from Calais, on the first of July, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and five, with the emperor's ambassador, as I approached near Dover Road, I perceived an increase of six ships to those which I left there three days before, one of them being the admiral. Their coming in shew was to beleaguer the Spaniards, who were then at Dover."

"As I drew near them, the admiral struck his flag thrice, and advanced it again. His coming from the other coast, at such a time caused me to make another construction than he pretended; and indeed it so fell out, for I conceived that his arrival at that time was for no other end than to shew the
"am-

(e) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 11.—
The reader may possibly have perceived that in this, and other places, my words, and matter are the same with those in a lately republished performance, mentioned to have been written by Mr. Barrow, and intitled the "Naval History of Great-Britain." To the great excellence of this work, it is but candid to subscribe, as, in most of the pages, the sentences are borrowed from Mr. Campbell, to whom I must do that justice which the compiler hath denied him. I, indeed, have previously declared that Mr. Campbell is the chief fountain of my intelligence, may be allowed to follow him; yet, I flatter myself that I have not appeared either too servile in my imitations, or so ungrateful as to endeavour to conceal them. It is due to the memory of Mr. Campbell that I should remark, with some indignation, that Mr. Barrow had not the civility, in the whole course of his publication, to acknowledge that he was once indebted for a single passage to the "Lives of the Admirals."

“ ambassador, who he knew would spread it abroad
“ throughout all Europe, as also the Spaniards, that
“ they might have the less esteem of his majesty’s
“ prerogative in the narrow seas, that by their wear-
“ ing their flag, they might be reputed kings of the
“ sea, as well as his majesty. I hastened the ambassa-
“ dor on shore, and dispatched a gentleman to the ad-
“ miral, to intreat his company on the next day to
“ dinner, which he willingly promised.”

“ The gentleman told him that I required him to
“ take in his flag, as a duty due to his majesty’s ships.
“ He answered that he had struck it thrice, which he
“ thought to be a very sufficient acknowledgement, and
“ it was more than former admirals of the narrow seas
“ had required at his hands.”

“ The gentleman replied that he expected such an
“ answer from him, and, therefore, he was prepared
“ with what to say to that point. He told him that
“ the times were altered; for that when no more but
“ striking the flag was required, England, and Holland
“ were both of them in hostility with Spain, which
“ caused her majesty to tolerate divers things in them,
“ as, for instance, the admiral’s wearing his flag, on
“ the expedition to Cadiz, and the islands, when the
“ lord admiral of England, and the lord of Essex, went
“ as generals; and that courtesy they could not chal-
“ lenge by right, but by permission; and the wars be-
“ ing now ceased, his majesty did require by me his
“ minister such rights, and duties as have formerly be-
“ longed to his progenitors.”

“ The admiral refused to obey my command, say-
“ ing that he expected more favour from me than
“ from other admirals, in respect of our long, and
“ loving acquaintance; but he was answered that all
“ obligations of private friendship must be laid aside,
“ when

"when the honour of one's king, and country is at stake. The gentleman advised him in a friendly manner to yield to my demand; if not, he had commission to tell him that I meant to weigh anchor, and come near him, and that the force of our ships should determine the question; for, rather than I would suffer his flag to be worn in view of so many nations as were to behold it, I resolved to bury myself in the sea."

"The admiral, it seems, upon better advice, took in his flag, and stood immediately off to sea, firing a gun for the rest of the fleet to follow him. And thus I lost my guest, on the next day, at dinner, as he had promised."

"This passage betwixt the admiral, and me, was observed from the shore, people beholding us to see the event. On my landing, I met with Siriago, the general of the Spaniards, who, in the time of queen Elizabeth, was employed under Mendoza, the ambassador of Spain. He told me that if the Hollanders had worn their flag, times had been strangely altered in England, since his old master, king Philip, the second, was shot at by the lord-admiral of England, for wearing his flag in the narrow seas, when he came to marry queen Mary (f)."

On the second of April, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and four, Sir Henry Middleton, attended by three ships, the Hector, the Ascension, and the Susan, departed from Gravesend, in the Red Dragon, for the purpose of preserving that commercial intercourse with the people of the East-Indies, who had been first visited by Lancaster (g); an adventurer, engaged like Sir Henry,

(f) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 242, 243.

(g) See from the 306th to the 317th page of this volume.

Henry, in the service of the company of merchants, incorporated by Elizabeth. During the earlier part of this second voyage, undertaken at their expence, the ships sailed in company as far as Bantam, on the arrival (*h*) at which place the crews were so enfeebled by sickness that not more than fifty of the whole number enjoyed sufficient strength for the performance of the necessary duty. On the thirtieth of December, Sir Henry Middleton delivered letters, and presents from James, to the king of Bantam, by whom they were received with great ceremony, and the warmest professions of attachment. The Red Dragon, on board of which was Sir Henry Middleton, sailed for the Moluccas; the Ascension proceeded to the isles of Banda; and the Hector and the Susan, remained at Bantam, in order to take in a lading of pepper, and the other articles.

In August of the following year, Sir Henry rejoined these last ships, from the commanders of which he was informed that the Dutch, availing themselves of his absence, had endeavoured, by various arts, to deprive the English of the privilege of trading to the East-Indies. Fortunately, on this occasion, their plots were ineffectual; and the kings of Bantam, Ternate, and Tydore, unmoved by their interested, and cruel misrepresentations, continued to receive Sir Henry, and his associates, with every mark of favour, and esteem, and, at their departure, not only loaded them with presents, but intrusted them with letters for their sovereign, on whose subjects these princes declared themselves resolved to bestow a firmer protection than any which they had ever granted to Europeans (*i*).

When

(*h*) December 28, 1604.

(*i*) Copies of the letters are in Harris's Collection of Voyages, and Purchas's Pilgrims.

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When the *Hector*, and the *Susan* were intirely freighted, they sailed (A) from Bantam, notwithstanding that the majority of the crew were languishing under the disorders peculiar to the climate, and that the two masters, and several of the mariners were dead. In seven months afterwards, Sir Henry Middleton followed, with the *Ascension*. As he approached the cape of Good Hope, he rejoined the *Hector*, the crew of which were all dead, excepting ten; a calamity the more severe as following the loss of the *Susan*, which happened three months before. On the sixth of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and six, Sir Henry arrived, with the remaining ships, at Deal.

The next naval expedition was undertaken by John Davis, an experienced pilot, who having entered into the service of Sir Edward Michelbourne, sailed on a voyage to the East-Indies, and, on the fifth of December, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and four, departed from Cowes, in the isle of Wight, with the *Tiger*, of the burthen of two hundred, and forty tons, and a small pinnace called the *Tiger's Whelp* (J). This adventurer, and his associates arrived within three leagues of Bantam, towards the conclusion of the following year, expecting to have joined the English fleet, which had sailed but three weeks before. At this place, they were informed by the factors of the East-India company, that the supercargoes, and officers of the Dutch ships then lying in the road had represented them to the king of Bantam, as thieves, and vagabonds, who were secretly resolved either to

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(A) March 1, 1604.

(J) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 74.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 179, 703.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 400, 401.

defraud his subjects by the most villainous, but unsuspected measures, or to wait in silence until a favourable opportunity should offer for the execution of their designs, by force. Alarmed at these proceedings, the English appeared averse from entering the road, amongst the Hollanders; but Sir Edward Michelbourne bravely set them at defiance, declared that he would cast anchor within cannon-shot of their squadron, and threatened that, if they either proceeded to hostilities, or artfully endeavoured to undermine the interest of his countrymen with the king of Bantam, he would destroy their vessels, or perish in the attempt. To this gallant declaration, the Hollanders did not return the least answer, neither whilst the English remained at Bantam, did they venture, for any length of time, to quit their ships, one of which, the largest of the five, was nearly of the burthen of eight hundred tons.

On the twenty-seventh of December, and when the English were lying near Pan-Hange, a country situated between Patane, and Jor, they met a junck full of Japanese, who had been engaged in the commission of acts of Piracy, along the coasts of China, and, Cambaia, but, having lost their ship, were proceeding homewards in this vessel. The whole company amounted to ninety persons, most of whom except, the pilot, appeared to be of superior rank. Their first interviews with the English were full of courtesy, and they never visited without either giving, or receiving presents. These appearances of peace were, notwithstanding, but of short duration, and, at a fourth meeting, a scene of slaughter ensued which proved fatal to numbers of the contending parties. Twenty-six of the crew belonging to the Tiger, being on board the junck, ventured with too imprudent a resolution, to
search

search amongst the rice for concealed articles of greater value. The Japanese rose, slew the majority of their opponents, and obliged the rest to plunge into the ocean. They next directed their attacks against the ship, and fought with great fierceness, and resolution. After a long engagement, the English forced them to retire from the half deck into the cabin. Here, they made an obstinate defence, during four hours, when they set the place on fire, and still resisted amidst the flames. As their adversaries perceived that they had formed the desperate design of burning themselves, together with the ship, they discharged into the cabin, from two cannons, a quantity of bullets, case-shot, and cross-bars, which did such dreadful execution, that all the Japanese, excepting one, were miserably slain. The English also paid dear for their escape from this impending danger, as numbers (and amongst them captain Davis,) were either killed or drowned.

The relation of the fate of the surviving Japanese is too singular to be omitted. To be at once secure from the cannonading by the English, and the flames which were spreading around the cabin, he jumped into the ocean. Here, also, he was on the point of perishing, but was taken by the English, and brought on board. His captors were unrelenting; they bade him prepare for death, and were astonished at the frantic resolution which induced him to desire that he might be cut to pieces. Had the English been endued with the least humanity, they would have extended it to a fellow-creature as gallant, and (what too justly may be inferred,) not more a savage than themselves; yet the only mercy granted to him was a refusal of the death which he would have chosen.

He received sentence to be hanged, directly. The rope by which he was drawn up, broke; he fell into the sea, swam away, and (as it was believed,) reached the shore, in safety. Thus, in the space of a few hours, he escaped death (that death which to his companions was inevitable,) by the artillery of the enemy; he avoided destruction either from fire, or water; he was preserved, although against his own request, from being cut to pieces; a circumstance singularly fortunate, saved him from hanging; and he, perhaps, was freed a second time, from perishing amidst the waves.

On the thirtieth of December, and when the English were at anchor near a small island, they received intelligence that a Chinese fleet was daily expected to arrive. On the second of January, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and six, they perceived two sail, which on a nearer approach, proved to be a part of the fleet. Having boarded these vessels, they, after a short contest, obliged the commanders to cast anchor. On board, were silks, and nearly fifty tons of China, and silver. The English, who imagined that their most valuable acquisitions would be made out of the cargoes of those ships which were yet to arrive, dismissed the two vessels, without detaining any material articles of merchandize. In the week succeeding to this event, they were informed by some officers belonging to the Dutch ships, that the English merchants at Bantam were in danger of being sacrificed to the fury of the Chinese, who had declared themselves resolved to avenge the detention of their vessels. This circumstance proved the safety of the fleet. The English preferring the welfare of their countrymen to their private interest, abandoned their design to seize the
the

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the ships, and, directing their course homewards, arrived at Portsmouth, on the nineteenth of July, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and six (m).

It was also at this period that captain Charles Leigh, undertook a voyage to Guiana, partly at his own expence, and partly at the expence of his brother, Sir Olave Leigh. The crew amounted to forty-seven persons, including boys; and the chief end of their enterprize was to make a more compleat discovery than had hitherto been effected of the country of Guiana, and, also, to establish an English colony in those parts.

On the twenty-first of March, these adventurers departed from Woolwich, in a bark called the Olive-Plant, of the Burthen of fifty tons; and, on the twenty-second of May, they reached the river of Wiapoco, in the latitude of three degrees, and thirty minutes, to the northward of the line. Having disembarked at the town which takes its name from the river, they entered into an agreement with the inhabitants, by whom they were courteously received, to assist them in their hostile operations against their inveterate enemies, the Caribbes, on condition that they should be allowed an ample space of ground, and several houses to be possessed, until the Erection of their own buildings.

This compact was effected by the interposition of two natives, who had formerly been in England, and understood the language of that country. Lest the articles agreed to should not be strictly carried into execution, five hostages, and amongst these, two of

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(m) Harris's col. Part 1. p. 55.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 132. and V. 3. p. 556.—Lediard's naval History, Folio. V. 2. p. 401, 402.

considerable rank, were demanded from the savages, who not only gave them, but consented that they should be conveyed to England, as pledges for the fidelity of their countrymen.

The first settlement of the colonists was on that part of the mountain which lies westward of the entrance of the river, and to which they gave the name of Mount Howard. Here, Leigh might have engaged in active scenes of life, at once pleasing to himself, and serviceable to his country, but the mutinous disposition of his associates cast such obstacles in the way of his designs, as neither resolution, nor abilities, nor industry could surmount.

In the summer of the following year, the captain sent the Olive-Plant to England (u), for a fresh stock of various articles of merchandize, domestic implements, and provisions, and retained at the colony thirty-five of his associates. The return of the vessel appeared the earnest of their better fortunes. The natives, rejoiced at the opportunity of procuring commodities from Europe, encouraged the English to trade with them, not only near the settlement, but farther up the river. The chief articles with which they supplied the colonists were wax; long, and beautiful white feathers; tobacco; green, and black cotton, yarn, and wool; sweet gums; red pepper; spleen, and matiate-stones; several kinds of wood, roots and berries, partly for medicines; and partly for the purposes of dyeing; flax; parrots; and monkies. At this period, when matters wore a successful aspect, a violent dysentery broke out, and proved fatal to many

(u) See in Purchas a letter to Sir Olave Leigh, from his brother Charles.

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ny of the English, amongst whom was the captain, who died of it, almost immediately after he had prepared for a voyage homewards, in order to procure a full cargo of such articles as might be most needful for his colony. This severe calamity proved the bane of the undertaking. Each person now shifted for himself. Some returned to England in their own vessels, others sailed to Europe in a French ship; and the rest in company with the Dutch. Thus, was the colony overthrown, to the great affliction of the Indians, who, by their conduct, had given proofs of an affectionate attachment to Leigh, and his associates (e).

The conclusion of the peace with Spain was not sufficient to prevent the commanders of ships in the service of that country from continuing their depredations on the vessels belonging to the English merchants. The particulars of these injuries have been too slightly mentioned, and we have no copious authority to follow in the discussion of them. In imitation of an indefatigable historian (p), we shall insert a copy from a manuscript which confirms the preceding assertion, and affords a melancholy proof not only of the facility with which the Spaniards imposed on James, but of the various, and too successful artifices of the Papists, in order to annoy the protestants. From whom the instructions came is not absolutely certain: yet we may infer, with some probability, that they were addressed by an ambassador in the service of James, (perhaps at Florence,) to his secretary.

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(e) Harris's Coll. Part. 1. p. 712.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1250.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 402, 403.

(p) Mr. Lediard.

MS. in BIBL. COTTON. Jul. E. II. Fol. 102.

The instructions given to George Rookes, at his departure for Sicily, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and four.

“ **N**OTWITHSTANDING the needful use of
“ your person about me, here, I have yielded to
“ your present employment in Sicily, for two respects.
“ First, upon my dealing, some weeks since, with the
“ Spanish ambassador, here, about those ships which are
“ questioned by the duke of Feria, and the said ambassador’s effectual writing, in that account, to the
“ duke, there has been sent from him hither, unto
“ me a reply, and colour of justification (although
“ exceedingly weak, and unworthy of his wisdom,)
“ against our complaints, which engages me a little
“ farther, than otherwise I should be, in a mere mercantile cause, by reason of the notorious violation,
“ offered by the said duke, unto the late contract of
“ peace, between the kings our masters, as appeareth
“ almost in every article of his answer; insomuch as
“ that he does not, in the fifth article thereof, make
“ mention of the said peace; and it might be well
“ doubted by his actions, whether that had yet come
“ to his hearing, as you may boldly say. Secondly,
“ because under the business for the releasement of
“ those ships, I will make use of you, for some other
“ occasions, that lie in the very direct line of the
“ Journey. Therefore, leaving unto Mr. James Higgs, and Mr. Geoffry Luther, who are here constituted absolute procurators in the cause of those ships
“ to both authorise you to deal in that, and to illuminate, and inform you how to deal (as hath been
“ partly done already by their answers unto the above-
“ named

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" named justification,) I will only remember you to
 " tell the duke of Fera, (if you fall into any argu-
 " ment) these things. (1) That at the writing of
 " his majesty's letters, (which you carry) he had
 " not yet heard of the death of the master, purser,
 " and merchant of the ship call the Trial, (who all
 " three are since dead by torture, and barbarous
 " usage, in prison,) whereby, as that seems, his ma-
 " jesty's letters are written with more moderation
 " than peradventure otherwise they would have been.
 " (2) That what original action soever might lie
 " against the ship, called the Trial, or any other of
 " his majesty's subjects ships, for any hostile act,
 " either intended, or committed, before the twenty-
 " fourth of April, in the year, one thousand, six
 " hundred, and three, is absolutely frustrated, by
 " the contract of peace, as you may urge out of the
 " very first article of the said contract, which I have
 " caused to be written out for you, from an authentic
 " copy, to that effect. This is all which I will say
 " unto you about the merchants affairs, wherein the
 " greatest difficulty, which I can apprehend, is, that
 " you will be troubled with false, and corrupted wit-
 " nesses ; an ordinary trade, and occupation amongst
 " the Greeks, and Sicilians. Now, for my own pur-
 " poses, you shall understand that I have gotten know-
 " ledge of the practices of Parsons, the jesuit, in the
 " kingdom of Naples, during the time of his being
 " there, whence he is newly returned to Rome. These
 " practices do partly consist in certain devilish reports
 " which he hath there disseminated against the person
 " of his majesty, wherewith he hath, in some sort,
 " possessed the vice-roy, by his secretary, who hath
 " great power over his master, and partly in the pur-
 " chase of new instruments to himself there, where-
 " of

“ of their principal is one Wale, an Irish man, whom
“ He hath by the means of the said secretary, placed
“ in a kind of consulship over such English merchants
“ as shall arrive in that port, after he had managed a
“ marriage between the said Wale, and one Chancellor’s
“ daughter, an English man there resident. Now for
“ those reports, although the speech of so unclean a
“ mouth, and conscience, can no way blemish his
“ majesty’s honour, yet there will be taken some
“ course hereafter to obviate such inconveniencies, as
“ might arise from it. But, for the latter point, touch-
“ ing Wale, the Irish man, this being a thing that
“ doth directly cross a prerogative of my charge here,
“ from whom only his majesty will take information
“ of the incumbrances, and grievances of his subjects,
“ and of all other accidents, in all harbours, and
“ states, in Italy, and hath, to that purpose, expressed
“ his will unto the merchants, his subjects, at Pisa,
“ and Leghorn, and by them to all others, as you see
“ in the copy which you carry with you, of my
“ lord secretary’s letters, dated on the twenty-third of
“ January last ; I say, this subordination of the said
“ Wale, at Naples, without my consent, being a base,
“ and insupportable intrusion, you shall deal in it, as
“ from me, very roundly, calling together such English
“ merchants, as you shall find there, and acquainting
“ them, with his Majesty’s will, out of the aforesaid
“ copy of my lord secretary’s letters, by the virtue
“ of which you shall dis-authorise, and discredit the
“ said Wale, from dealing any farther as consul, or
“ otherwise, for them. This done, I would have you
“ address yourself there, to one captain Alexander He-
“ brun, a Scotch Gentleman, (of whose loyalty unto
“ his majesty, I have, as you shall tell him, very espe-
“ cial proof,) desiring him to deliberate with you,
“ upon

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" upon choice of some other fit person there, for the
 " assistance of our merchants, in such cases as require
 " intercession from the vice-roy, and for the in-
 " formation of me, from time, to time, in their
 " grievances. These points you are to negotiate in
 " your passage towards Messina, and presently upon it
 " to advertise me, what you have done, and how you
 " find the said Wale to have demeaned himself, that
 " so, upon the advertisement, and farther considera-
 " tion of circumstances, I may write letters thither,
 " either to the vice-roy, himself, or any other, as
 " you, and the said captain shall hold fit, to meet
 " you there against your return, which in your ab-
 " sence shall be addressed to the said captain's hand.
 " If you find the said captain so vacant, that he may
 " undertake the causes of his countrymen, you shall
 " say that you had charge to offer it to him, before
 " any other. Lastly, in the whole course, I would
 " have you observe, as much as may be, the nature
 " of the places by which you pass, and all occur-
 " rences, for the information of me, and your own
 " judgment,"

And so God bless you.

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and five,
 the earl of Southampton, and the lord Thomas Arundel,
 of Wardour, equipped a vessel, called the Archangel, and
 directed the commander, captain George Weymouth, to
 sail with her, on a trading voyage to Virginia. Ac-
 cordingly, on the first of March, he departed from
 Dartmouth, and had a prosperous passage, until he ap-
 proached the desired coast. It was the intention of this
 officer, and his associates, to have fallen in with the
 land, about the latitude of thirty-nine degrees; but,
 having

having been driven rather more to the northward, by the winds, they came into nearly forty-one degrees, and a half, when, as their water was almost expended, they eagerly wished to obtain a sight of land. Their charts had taught them to expect it, and, therefore, they bore directly in with it, according to their directions; yet, they did not find land, during a course of fifty leagues. At length, on the sixteenth of May, they descried a small island, the shores of which were skirted by woods. On the trees, were various fruits; streams of fresh water ran down the cliffs; fowls of different kinds were also seen in vast numbers; and the shores produced quantities of fish. To this place, on the eastern part of which they had disembarked, they gave the name of Long-Island (g).

From hence, they could discern a multitude of other islands, and the main land itself, extending from the west-south-west, to the east-north-east. On several of the places adjoining to the continent, they landed, and found them all full of different sorts of trees, several of which bore fruit, and the rest were timber. At one of these islands was a convenient harbour, in which ships might lie, defended from the winds, in water, from six, to ten fathom, and on a tough clay-ooze. Having discovered it at Whitsuntide, they called it Pentecost harbour. The numerous fir-trees yielded a kind of sweet turpentine; near the rocks were quantities of Muscles, all of which

(g) Mr. Lediard, in his naval History, observes that a full relation of this voyage was published, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and five, by Mr. James Rosier, one of the adventurers, and directed, by the lord Arundel, of Wardour, to draw up an account of the expedition. The more modern relations appear to be, in a great measure, abstracts from this performance.

which abounded with small pearls; and many produced such as were large, and orient. Of this valuable commodity, the inside of the shells of which resembled mother of pearl, the English were unable to procure any considerable quantity, because they wanted the proper tackle, for the purposes of dredging.

The savages who inhabited the continent, came off in canoes, and traded with the English, during their stay, giving in exchange for knives, beads, and other trifles, a valuable assortment of skins, and furs. Under the appearances of friendship, they concealed the most treacherous intentions, which, on one occasion, they nearly executed. Having invited the English on shore, for the purposes of trading, they attempted to draw them towards an ambush, in which were secreted three hundred men, armed with bows, and arrows. The snare was, however, fortunately discovered, and captain Weymouth, and his associates escaped, although with difficulty, to their ship.

The qualities of the main land, as far as they discovered it, appeared superior in goodness to those of the other islands, notwithstanding their fertility; but the circumstance which these adventurers deemed the most fortunate, was their arrival at a river (*r*), which they preferred to any (known at least by themselves,) in all America. Having sailed on it, during a course of several leagues, they were enabled to give the following account; that as it runs up the main to the extent of forty miles, it is, in most places, a mile in breadth, in some three quarters, and in none less than half a mile. It flows sixteen, or eighteen feet, and, at low

(*) The author of the new History of Virginia observes that it is now named Connecticut River, but, in the History of the British empire, in America, it is called the river of Powhatan, southward of the bay of Chesapeake.

low water, is in depth, from six, to ten fathoms. It hath abundance of harbours, capable of receiving ships of all burthens, and of affording them a more effectual shelter than could be found in the European ports, from the violence of the winds, and weather. On both sides, and, at a small distance from each other, are several coves proper for the reception of an hundred sail; and here the ground is a soft ooze, with tough clay underneath, for anchor-hold. The adjacent land extends along, on either shore, in a smooth line, and, instead of rocks, and cliffs, is bordered with green grass, firs, oaks, and other lofty trees. The river yields quantities of fish, and branches on both sides, towards the main land; a circumstance which must greatly contribute to the easy transportation of goods, from place, to place. It is added that the voyagers who approach Pentecost harbour will easily find this river; but that this company was, in all probability, the first of Europeans, who ever were there; since it could not be discovered, during the passage up the river, by any signs whatsoever, that others, not being natives, had visited those parts before.

It was on the banks of this river that the English would willingly have established a colony; but such were the orders in their commission, that they were obliged to relinquish, until a future opportunity, their attempts, to make farther discoveries in this region (s). They, therefore, remained only six weeks,

at

(s) Yet Purchas remarks that when the savages desired that an Englishman would remain ashore with them, Griffin, one of the adventurers who, in consequence of an agreement made with the lord Arundel, of Wardour, was to have been left, if necessary, in the country, went with them in their Canoe. Hence, it may be inferred that, if
the

at anchor, in the river, and, when this period was expired, having laden their ship with skins, furs, saffras, and tobacco, they, on the sixteenth of June, set sail for England, (accompanied by five of the savages,) and, on the eighteenth of July, arrived safely at the port of Dartmouth.

The savages (all of whom reached England,) appeared perfectly reconciled to their situation, notwithstanding that when the English first prepared to detain them on board of the Archangel, they made a gallant, but ineffectual resistance. The courteous treatment which they received during the voyage, from Weymouth, and his associates, at once contributed to soften their captivity, (if it deserve the name,) and to impart a gentleness to their manners. They became tractable, attached to the English, and rejoiced at every opportunity of manifesting a readiness to oblige them. Amongst themselves, they lived in constant harmony; and whatsoever one received, he immediately divided it with the others. Three of these savages had borne a distinguished rank in their own country; a fourth was a Sagamo, or chief commander; and the fifth, a servant.

A naval historian (†) justly considers it as remarkable that, in all these latter voyages, the English never endeavoured to approach the place where the first attempts towards the establishment of a colony, were made at Cape Hattorask; neither did they humanely ex-

the English had felt an inclination to establish a colony at this place, they had no restraints to fear from the commission. The persons employed on this voyage amounted but to twenty-nine; too small a number for the purpose of making settlements. Rosier observes that only Owen Griffin, and another man were to have been left there.

(†) Mr. Lediard.

extend a thought to the hundred, and fifteen persons, who had settled there, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-seven. Concerning these, no account had been received ; no inquiry had been set on foot ; and it was, therefore, natural to conclude that they had either died, or were languishing in want. To the disgrace of their countrymen, it must be remarked that they were not visited from this period, until the expiration of three years, when a colony was established near Chesapeak Bay, in Virginia, which, previous to this *Æra*, had not been seen by any Englishman. So insatiate was the lust of riches, and such were the ungovernable pursuits of an extensive commerce, that all regard for the lives of their fellow-Christians, kindred neighbours, and countrymen, was lost in the most sordid, and barbarous attachment to their private interest (*u*).

To the account already given concerning the voyage of captain Charles Leigh, to Guiana, it may be necessary to add that his brother, Sir Olave, anxious for the prosperity of the colony, fitted out another ship (*x*), which, being freighted with all necessaries, and commanded by the captains Catalin, and Saint-John, proceeded, on the fourteenth of April, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and five, from Woolwich, for Wiapoco. A variety of unfortunate circumstances, arising from contrary winds, strong currents,

(*u*) The particulars of this voyage to Virginia are taken from Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 817.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1659.—Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 18.—History of Virginia, p. 11.—British Empire in America, Part 1. p. 221.—Relation of a voyage to Virginia, by James Rosier.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. p. 405, 406, 407.

(*x*) The Olive-Blossom.

tents, and the ignorance, and inattention of the master, Richard Chambers, made these officers despair, (and the more, as they were driven greatly to the Leeward,) of ever gaining their destined port, in any seasonable time. They, therefore, touched first at Barbadoes, and, afterwards, at the island of Saint Lucia, intending to return from thence to England; a measure which they were, notwithstanding, obliged to relinquish, when having examined the stores, they perceived that the quantity was insufficient for the support of the crew, during so long a voyage. A situation thus alarming induced captain Saint-John, and sixty-seven of the passengers, to stay on the island, rather than run the risk of perishing at sea. Here, therefore, they disembarked, on the twenty-third of August, provided only with one small piece of Ordnance, their swords, Muskets, some powder, and a single barrel of biscuits. This supply was all which those shipmates whom they were going to desert, could be prevailed on to give; and the refusal of farther succours was the more steadily persisted in, as a punishment deserved by captain Saint-John, and his associates, who had forcibly detained the boat for their own use.

These adventurers were soon visited by the Indians, who, in exchange for trifling articles, supplied them with the various produce of the soil, together with gulls, pelicans, woodcocks, and snipes. During the night, they caught tortoises on the sands, and these creatures alone would have proved sufficient for their subsistence. Thus plentifully furnished with delicious food, they remained, for the space of five weeks, in little huts, which they had constructed, without making any excursions of discovery into the country. In this state of inactivity, they probably might

have rested much longer, if Saint-John, who had discerned plates of metal on the arms of several of the Indians, and was informed by one Brown, belonging to their company, and a refiner, that they were three parts composed of gold, had not suggested to his associates the necessity of preparing for an enterprize, the success of which might prove the means of loading themselves with riches.

When the Indians were inquired of, by signs, from whence they had procured the metal, they pointed to a lofty mountain, on the north-western extremity of the island. Thither Saint-John, and as many of his associates as the boat could conveniently receive, immediately set sail, after having promised those who were left to guard the huts, that they would return, in the course of a few days.

When this division of the company had departed, the remainder expected that the Indians would have resorted to them, as usual, with provisions; but three days elapsed, and none had visited them. At this juncture, the savages were employed in the perpetration of more inhospitable actions. Having traced Saint-John, and his followers, towards the mountain, they concerted measures for their destruction, and put themselves under the command of Augramert, a desperate, and enterprizing Indian, who had been appointed captain of the island of Saint Vincent. In order to conceal their intentions, they once more assumed the appearances of a friendly disposition, and paid fresh visits, at one of which Augramert expressed an inclination to return, at his own quarters, the civilities which he had received; and, having persuaded several of the English to accompany him, promised that they should be supplied with such provisions as they wanted.

The

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The number of persons who were induced to attend Augramert amounted to eighteen, including captain Saint-John. The savage, still declaring that he was conducting them to his abode, drew them towards an ambush, where, being surrounded by more than five hundred Indians, and exposed, on every side, to volleys of arrows, they were soon overpowered, and, after a brave resistance, all, excepting John Nicolls, were barbarously slaughtered.

This sole survivor of his unfortunate companions having escaped, with difficulty, from the savages, first, concealed himself within the woods, then, swam across a lake, and, at length, with three arrows sticking in his body, returned home, barely in sufficient time, to give the alarm to his companions, whose huts were shortly afterwards surrounded by an armed multitude of Indians, against whom they discharged their small piece of artillery, and forced them to retire. In three days from this event, the English were again assailed by a body of thirteen hundred men, who, after having attacked, but without success, their little fort, and cabins, for the space of seven days, had recourse to fire-arrows, which, in a short time, reduced their habitations, and all their property, to an heap of ashes. In spite of these calamities, the English stood intrepidly on their defence, and their numerous assailants, unable to conquer this little band of heroes, again reluctantly withdrew.

Scarcely were they departed, when some of the neighbouring Indians, less barbarous than the rest, supplied the English with provisions, and, at length, agreed to give them an old, and damaged boat, in exchange for beads, knives, and Hatchets. Thus equipped, the nineteen survivors (y), of sixty-eight persons who had

A a 2

failed

(y) Of these, twelve were wounded.



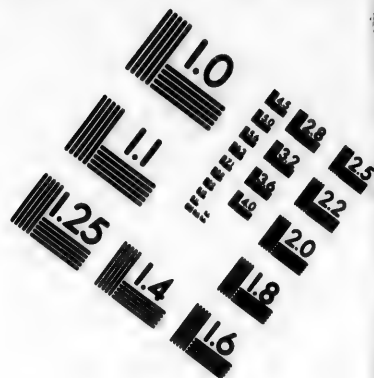
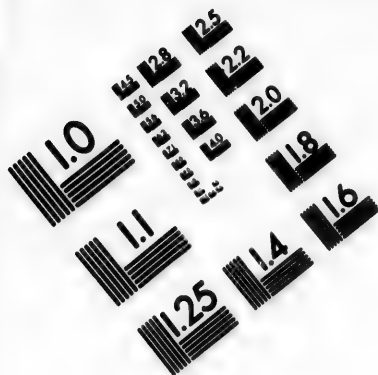
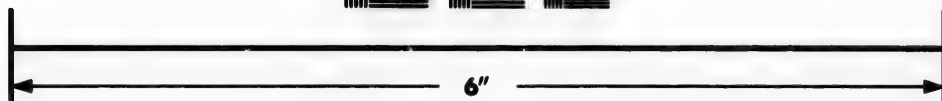
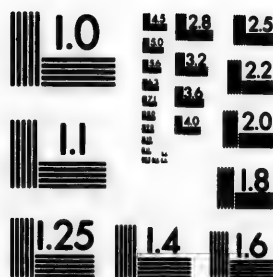


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failed from England, committed themselves to the mercy of the ocean. Their situation was deplorable to an extreme; they had not either charts, or compasses; their whole means of subsistence were confined to four gallons of water, a small quantity of plantains, and potatoes, and a bag of rice. With these provisions, it was not possible that they could be supported longer than the space of three days, previous to the expiration of which, they had no reason to imagine that, without one mariner in their company, they should arrive at some hospitable shore.

In this small, and overladen boat, they lived for the space of ten days, at sea, during which four persons were employed, by turns, constantly to scoop out the water. At length, when all were driven to despair, and one of the company was just expiring, they discovered land. The night advanced before they could reach it, and soon afterwards, their boat was dashed to pieces against a rock. With much difficulty, they gained the island, on which, as it was barren and uninhabited, they now expected to die by famine. Fortunately, all the separated parts of their boat were cast ashore. These being immediately collected, and properly joined together, five of the company departed for the continent, in order that they might prevail on the inhabitants to afford them speedy succour. Arriving at an Indian town, called Tocoya, they were humanely supplied with provisions, and all necessaries, which they carried to the island, where, after an absence of fifteen days, they rejoined all their associates, excepting five, who had died, for want of sustenance. The number of these unfortunate adventurers was now reduced to thirteen, who reached a Spanish settlement, called Coro, where, although they were treated with great humanity, two
more

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more expired soon after their arrival. Three proceeded to Carthage, and were followed by two others, with whom they got a passage to Spain. The fate of the rest is unknown (x).

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and six, the king granted a charter to Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, George Popham, and others of the town of Plymouth, whereby they were empowered to plant wheresoever they might think fit, and convenient, between thirty-eight, and forty-five degrees of northern latitude (a).

It was at this period that the first attempt was made for a settlement in New-England, by Henry Challons, who was attended by thirty persons, amongst whom were two natives of the country, in a small ship, called the *Richard*, of Plymouth. This voyage was undertaken at the expence of Sir John Popham, the lord chief justice, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the governor of Plymouth fort, who, with other gentlemen,

A a 3 and

(x) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 713.—Purchas, V. 4. p. 1250.—Lediard's naval History. Folio, V. 2. p. 407, 408.

(a) The letters-patent granted by James, in the course of this year, for the limitation of Virginia, extended from thirty-four, to thirty-five degrees, and it was divided into two parts, which were the first, and the second colony. The first was allotted to the city of London, and persons who would adventure with them, in order to discover, and take their choice of lands, betwixt the degrees of thirty-four, and forty-one. The second was appointed to the cities of Bristol, and Exeter, the towns of Plymouth, the Western parts of England, and all those who would adventure, and join with them. Permission was granted to these to make their choice any where between the degrees of thirty-eight, and forty-five, provided there should be at least the distance of an hundred miles, between these two colonies, each of which enjoyed, equally laws, Privileges, and authority for the government of their several plantations.

and merchants of the west, were concerned in the company established by the charter to which we have here alluded. Challons, and his associates, set sail in the month of August, and, having proceeded as far as the Spanish West-Indian islands, were intercepted, and taken by an Armada, from the officers of which they experienced the most inhuman treatment, and were, at length, sent into Spain, where they long languished under every species of barbarous indignity. A laborious historian (b) remarks, without descending to particulars, that this misfortune of Challons exposed him to the power of certain strangers, enemies to his proceedings; who imprisoned his company, confiscated the ship, together with the cargo, and by these oppressive measures, intirely overthrew the voyage.

So heavy a calamity considerably repressed the ardour of the first adventurers; but the lord chief justice Popham, at a period prior to the advice of the disaster which had happened to Challons, dispatched another ship, under the command of captain Hanham, one of the patentees, with all necessaries for his support. When he arrived at the appointed place, he learned that Challons, and his associates, had never reached it. On this account, Hanham, who was instructed, not, at that juncture, to attempt the establishment of a colony, but to make discoveries preparatory to such an event, returned home, and, on his arrival, represented the situation, and other circumstances relating to the country, in so favourable a light, that all people were now as much satisfied, as, at the recital of the first miscarriage, they had been dispirited, and numbers, who, before, had declined engaging in the enterprize, now, earnestly intreated that they might become adventurers. Sir John Popham,
and

(b) Purchas.

and those persons who were at first concerned in this design, now felt such sanguine hopes of its success, that they cheerfully contributed an ample share towards the expence of collecting, and sending over a multitude of proper persons for the purposes of colonization.

On the thirty-first of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and seven, the captains Popham, and Gilbert, two of the patentees, set sail from Plymouth, with two ships, on board of which were an hundred passengers, together with ordnance, stores, and all necessary provisions for their use (c). Having arrived at Monahigan, on the eleventh of August, they soon afterwards seated themselves at Sagadahock, in Norembegua, nearly nine leagues to the Southward, and at the mouth of a navigable river, where they constructed Saint George's fort.

Previous to the return of these ships, the lord chief justice Popham died, a circumstance which, together with a series of calamitous events, proved the source of insuperable obstacles to the prosperity of the colonists. Sir Francis Popham, the son, was, indeed, assiduous in the support of those undertakings which

A a 4 had

(c) It is observed by Smith, in his general History of Virginia, that Sir John Popham having, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and six, procured a number of persons, together with whatsoever might be requisite for the establishment of a colony in New England, sent thither the Captains, George Popham, as President; Raleigh Gilbert, as Admiral; Edward Harlow, as Master of the Ordnance; Robert Davis, a Serjeant Major; and Elias Best, as marshal; Mr. Seaman was appointed Secretary; Captain James Davis, Commander of the Fort; and Mr. Gome Carew, Chief-Searcher. All these were of the council, and together with an hundred others, had received orders to remain in the country.

had been patronized by his father, and advanced a considerable sum for the full equipment of three ships, which sailed, in the course of the succeeding year, for New England. With these, arrived the afflicting news of the deaths of the lord chief justice, and Sir John Gilbert, brothers to the president, and admiral of the colony. Captain Gilbert was now obliged to return to England, in order to take possession of the estate which had devolved to him, on the decease of Sir John. The loss of this officer, was the more heavily felt after that of Popham, (already dead,) and left the colonists without a chief sufficiently important for the purposes of contributing to the success, and stability of their enterprizes. To fill up the measure of their disappointments, the stores had, in the winter, been consumed by fire; an event which they now considered in so alarming a point of view, that they unanimously determined to forsake the plantation, and set sail for England, with the ships, and a small bark, which, notwithstanding the severity of the season, and the little assistance to be procured, they had constructed, and completely rigged. In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eight, they returned to their native country, and delivered such discouraging accounts concerning the miscarriage of their enterprize, that, in a short time, even the least discourse relating to the establishment of a colony in New-England had entirely subsided. Sir Francis Popham, notwithstanding, employed the Ships which were the property of the company, and supplying, at his own expence, whatsoever was necessary for his purpose, sent them frequently to these coasts, with directions to the commanders that they should not only reap every benefit in their power from the

the

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the fisheries, but embraced all opportunities of establishing an extensive commerce (*d*).

We now turn back in order to present the reader with an account of the establishment of a colony in the more southern districts of Virginia, to accomplish which salutary purpose the merchants of London, Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, joined in a petition to the king, and having represented that no single individual was equal either to the settlement of a plantation, or the management of such extended plans of trade, besought him to grant them his protection, and to incorporate, and enable them to raise a supply sufficient for the completion of their intended enterprize,

Accordingly, on the tenth of April, in the year one thousand, six hundred, and six, the king issued his letters-patent, by which they were incorporated, in one charter, into two distinct colonies, and formed two separate companies (*e*).

“ The charter was granted to Sir Thomas Gates,
“ Sir George Sommers, knights; Richard Hackluyt,
“ clerk, and prebend of Westminster; and Edward
“ Maria Wingfield, Esquire, adventurer of the city
“ of London, and to such others as should be joined
“ unto them, of that colony, which should be called

“ The

(*d*) Smith's general history of Virginia, p. 203.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 851.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1827, 1832.—British empire in America, V. 1. p. 26.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 2. folio, p. 409, 410, 411.—In imitation of the last author, to whose researches we are so much indebted, the narratives of transactions which are closely connected have been placed together, although they do not fall within the compass of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and six.

(*e*) Concerning these Letters Patent, mention hath been already made; but, in this place, it appears necessary to introduce them more circumstantially.

“ The first Company, with liberty to begin their first
“ plantation, and seat, at any place, upon the coast
“ of Virginia, where they should think fit, and convenient,
“ between the degrees of thirty-four, and forty-one,
“ of northern latitude; and that they should
“ extend their bounds from the said first seat of their
“ plantation, and habitation, fifty miles along the
“ sea-coasts, each way; and include all the islands
“ within an hundred miles directly overagainst the
“ same sea-coast, and also back into the main-land,
“ one hundred miles from the sea-coast; and that no
“ others should be permitted, or suffered to plant, or
“ inhabit behind, or on the back of them, towards
“ the main land, without the express licence of the
“ council of that colony thereunto in writing first
“ had, and obtained. And, for the second colony,
“ Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker,
“ and George Popham, Esquires, of the town of Plymouth,
“ and all others who should be joined to
“ them, of that colony, with liberty to begin their
“ first plantation, and seat, at any place upon the
“ coast of Virginia, where they should think fit, between
“ the degrees of thirty-eight, and forty-five of
“ northern latitude, with the like liberties, and bounds,
“ as enjoyed by the first colony, provided that they
“ did not seat themselves within an hundred miles of
“ them.”

This patent included Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, as they are now distinguished from each other, for the London adventurers; and New-England, New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, as they are now divided into several provinces, for the Plymouth adventurers; but the whole was then called Virginia, as well that which was granted to the one, as to the other.

Impow-

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Impowered by this patent, the London company fitted out two ships, the command of which was given to Christopher Newport. Accompanying this officer were Mr. Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, several gentlemen of family, the captains Gosnoll, Smith (*f*), Ratcliff, Martin, Kendal, and Mr. Wingfield, which last six, together with Newport, were, as it afterwards appeared, nominated of the council. Exclusive of these, a minister, and many different artificers were amongst the passengers, who, together, amounted to more than two hundred persons.

On the nineteenth of December, captain Newport, and his associates, proceeded from England, and, in consequence of instructions for that purpose, proceeded, (notwithstanding that no convenient harbour could be found there,) to the part of Virginia, on which Mr. White had left his miserable colony. During the voyage, captain Smith acted as pilot, and navigated this little fleet by the western, and Caribbee islands. A course so tedious, and the various interruptions to it, filled the minds of his associates with apprehensions that

(*f*) Mr. Lediard observes that some authors distinguish the voyage of Captain Smith, from that of Captain Newport, and affirm that the first settlement which remained was made by Smith, who (they remark,) went there as chief commander of three small ships. But other writers mention the voyage of Newport, as prior to that of Smith. This point must be left to the decision of those who have inspected the books of the company. Suffice it that the naval historian hath followed the accounts which appeared the most authentic. Amongst these, the assertions in the general history, by Smith, seem too well grounded. We there learn that company fitted out two ships; the one of an hundred, and the other of forty tons burthen; together with a pinnace of twenty tons burthen. The transportation of the company was committed to captain Christopher Newport.

that they should never reach the colony, and determined them to return immediately to England. Soon afterwards (g) the ships fortunately fell in with Virginia, or that part of the continent which is now so called, at the mouth of Chesapeak bay. The southern cape of it was the first place on which they disembarked; and here, they erected a fort; giving it the name of Cape, and Fort Henry, as to the northern part, they gave that of Fort Charles, in compliment to the two eldest princes. To the first great river which they discovered, and which was called, by the Indians, Powhatan, They, in honour of their sovereign, gave the name of James River.

After the most careful examination of every part of it, the English, by unanimous consent, fixed on a peninsula, nearly fifty miles from the entrance, which, exclusive of the goodness of the soil, was esteemed the fittest place for their own security, and the management of their commerce. Two thirds of it was surrounded by the main river, which every where afforded safe anchorage. Along the other third, flowed a small narrow river, capable of receiving several vessels of the burthen of one hundred tons, until it reached within thirty yards of the main river, into which it generally ran, during the spring tides. Hence, the land, on which they chose to erect their town, obtained the name of Island. In the back river, ships, and small vessels might ride, lashed to each other, and be moored ashore, secure from the violence of the wind and weather.

The whole island (the capital place of which was called James Town,) contained nearly two thousand acres of high land, and several thousand acres of firm marsh-land, which produced a fine pasturage. The Eng-

(g) April 26, 1607.

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English, who had erected castles, and a fort, lived here, in great security from the irruptions of the Indians; but although it was not in the power of a neighbouring enemy to excite disturbances, their own mutual animosities were attended by alarming consequences, and their ruin appeared the nearer in its approach, whilst they not only indulged an ungovernable rapacity in their attempts to seize the treasures of the Indians, but embraced all opportunities of overreaching each other in affairs of commerce.

As the merchant-adventurers, whose names have been already mentioned, were, by charter, invested with the proper powers, they had drawn up instructions (not to be opened until the arrival of the English, at Virginia,) for the establishment of a colony, to remain under the governance of a president, and Council chosen annually. The most zealous, and serviceable instrument in the promotion of the measures was captain Smith, whose associates withdrew from him their support, and treated him with equal perfidy, and Ingratitude. His activity, and experience, the last of which was particularly conspicuous in all maritime affairs, instead of attracting the respect, had excited the envy of the Majority, from the inveteracy of whose persecutions, it should seem that even death was not, in their opinion, too severe a punishment for the unremitted, and frequently successful exertions of his superior abilities. Wingfield, the president, and the chief promoter of the conspiracy against him, was avaritious, proud, insolent, and implacable in his resentments. Having availed himself of the absence of Smith, who was engaged in attempts to effectuate the establishment of a treaty of commerce with the Indian kings, he concerted measures which were intended to have terminated in his destruction. False witnesses

nesses were suborned to prove, on oath, the criminality of his conduct (*A*), and he was not only excluded from the council, although he had been nominated a member, by the company in England, but cast into a loathsome prison, where he lay until the forgeries of his enemies were effectually discovered, and defeated. At this favourable juncture, he was elected a member of the council; his adversary Wingfield was deposed, and Ratcliff, succeeding to the presidency, intrusted Smith, of whose talents for government he was sufficiently convinced, with the full administration of affairs.

At the expiration of five weeks, the ships were freighted, and in readiness, when captain Newport departed for England (*i*), leaving more than one hundred men, settled under that form of government which hath already been described. The fleet had scarcely sailed, when fresh dissensions broke out amongst the colonists, and the general prosperity of the

(*A*) A naval historian * hath observed, in a note, that Smith was accused of an intention to usurp the government, to put to death every member of the council, and then proclaim himself the sovereign of the place. In order to accomplish this design, he was charged with having placed confederates in each ship, and informed that several of them had discovered his conspiracy. These aspersions proved, at length, the mere result of Envy, and resentments as violent as they were unjust. It is remarked that accusations were lodged against him during the voyage, and whilst the English were within sight of the Canaries. Some historians have asserted that he was then confined, and not released until the expiration of thirteen weeks; and after the departure of captain Newport. This last account is certainly erroneous, as, under such circumstances, Smith could not have been engaged in the negotiation of a treaty with the Indian kings.

* Mr. Lediard.

(*i*) June 15, 1606.

the whole was once more, on the point of being sacrificed to the intrigues of a corrupted party.

Yet in the midst of these contentions, the English erected houses, and fortifications, nor did they suffer themselves to be drawn aside, by the violence of animosities, from the culture of the ground, and the preservation of their commerce with the Indians. To this last object, they attended with a degree of eagerness which might have insured success, had they been tied down by any restrictions in trade, or at least, prevented from the exercise of the dangerous custom of out-bidding one another. It was this circumstance which not only lessened their own profit, but created jealousies amongst the Indians; who, little skilled in the practices of trade, and perceiving that the articles of merchandize were not sold to all at the same prices, exclaimed that they who purchased, at the highest rates were fraudulently dealt with. Hence arose that hatred which the Indians conceived against the English, and which they afterwards gratified in the commission of the most violent hostilities.

The colonists subsisted, until the following year, on provisions with which they were supplied in exchange for several of the commodities of Europe. At length, one vessel arrived, with Men, and all necessary stores. The other having been driven back to the Caribbee islands, did not reach the settlement, until the former had departed, on her return to England.

At this period, the attention of the colonists was totally diverted from all objects of superior necessity, and importance, by one, which whilst it presented to imaginations, inflamed with avarice, with the views of future opulence, led imperceptibly to destruction. In a neck of land, on the back of James-Town-Island, they had discovered a stream of fresh water, that,

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issuing from a small bank, washed down its sides a kind of yellow dust-isinglass, which, having been cleansed in its passage, lay shining at the bottom, and bore the appearance of gold. The English, who supposed it to be that valuable metal, were incessantly employed in conveying it to their habitations. During these pursuits, their provisions became almost entirely expended; and as they had not allowed themselves the least time to inquire for fresh supplies, they soon felt themselves reduced to the necessity of subsisting on crabs, Muscles, and the wild fruits of the earth. Their wretched situation had gone far towards convincing them of the absurdity of their hopes; and their misfortunes were now imbibited by the cruelty of the Indians, who waited in ambush for the purpose of destroying them, and so far succeeded in their treacherous resolution as to slay numbers. The rest, dreading the same fate, durst not venture from their habitations, and, unable to procure the common necessaries of life, were on the point of perishing.

At this alarming juncture, a ship arrived from England, and the Colonists again turned all their thoughts to the acquisition of their imaginary gold. With it, and a small quantity of skins, furs, and cedar, they freighted this vessel, and directed the commander to proceed immediately on his passage homewards. The second vessel which reached the settlement was also laden with the same dust, and instantly sailed back to England.

Soon after the departure of these ships, and when the violence of avarice appeared to have been allayed, captain Smith, who had long, but vainly, endeavoured to convince his associates of their error, proposed that they should engage in enterprizes less delusive in their nature,

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nature, and more conformable to the instructions of the company. Accordingly, under the direction of this experienced, and active officer, they made several important discoveries in James-River, and Chesapeak Bay; and, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eight, first gathered Indian corn of their own planting.

Whilst Smith, and his associates were proceeding on an expedition amongst the savages, they were treacherously assaulted by three hundred Indians, under the command of one of their petty kings, called Pamaunkee, who, having gained the victory, slew all the English, except their leader, whom he conveyed a prisoner to Powhatan, the chief sovereign (*A*), at the intercession of whose daughter, Pocahontas, his life was saved. With this mercy, Smith also received his liberty, and returned, in safety, to James-Town, where he was unanimously desired by the remaining colonists to become their president, on the resignation of Mr. Ratcliff.

Whilst these discoveries were making by captain Smith, to whose talents, activity, and resolution, must be attributed the success of the enterprizes, and the momentary tranquility which prevailed within the settlement, the colonists at James-Town, availing

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(*A*) Smith, in his general history of Virginia, observes that, previous to his being made a prisoner, he had placed his Indian guide before him, as a shield, and, thus defended, slew three of the savages, and wounded so many more, that none of the rest durst venture near him. In this manner, he attempted to retire to his boat, keeping the Indian in the midway, and opposite to the enemy. At length, not observing the ground, he fell, as high as the waist, into a slough, and dragged the Indian after him. Even here, the savages durst not approach him, until, almost perishing with cold, he threw away his arms, and surrendered.

themselves of the absence of their chief, broke out into fresh dissensions, during which a considerable number attempted to leave the place, and set sail in the smallest vessel which was at anchor in the harbour. Thus were the English exposed, by their own misconduct, to calamities not less irretrievable than their sufferings in consequence of the violent hostilities committed by the Indians.

Yet, amidst these dreadful interruptions to the prosperity of infant settlements, so successful were the English, at this period increased nearly to five hundred men, that they established two more plantations; the first at Nahsamon, in James-River, more than thirty miles below James-Town, and the second at Powhatan, six miles below the falls of James-River. The last place was purchased of the king of the country, for a certain quantity of copper; and each plantation consisted of an hundred, and twenty men. Shortly afterwards, the English made another settlement, at Kiguo-tan, near the mouth of James-River. From such small beginnings did Virginia rise to that importance which it hath since enjoyed (1).

We now return to an occurrence in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and six, which the necessary relation of a chain of facts hath hitherto obliged us to pass over. At this period, the Muscovy company prepared once more the discovery of a north-west passage,

(1) These particulars, relative to the establishment of a colony in the southern parts of Virginia, are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1683, 1705.—Introduction to the coll. of voyages, 6 vol. in folio, p. 56.—Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 41.—History of Virginia, p. 13.—British empire in America, V. 1. p. 221.—and Le-diard's naval History, folio, V. 2. p. 411, 412, 413, 414, 415.

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passage, and having, for that purpose, equipped a bark, of the burthen of forty tons, gave the command of it to captain John Knight. On the eighteenth of April, this officer departed from Gravesend, and, on the nineteenth of June, reached America. Disembarking with the rest of his associates, they were attacked, and massacred by the savages. The rest of the company, at a time when the vessel had sprung a leak, and unshipped her rudder, gallantly repelled the attack of fifty Indians, and having repaired the damages which they suffered, proceeded to Newfoundland. When they had obtained the necessary relief from the inhabitants of this place, they set sail for England, and, on the twentieth of September, arrived at Dartmouth (m).

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and seven, the East-India company appointed William Keeling their chief commander, on their third voyage. Under him were three hundred, and ten persons, in ships, of which the names were the Dragon, the Hector, and the Consent. Shortly after her departure, the last vessel sailed forward alone, and the other two separated at Delisa, a road near the North of Socotora, in the Arabian sea. Keeling, in the Dragon, directed his course towards Bantam, and Captain Hawkins, in the Hector, proceeded for Surat. When the former, and his associates, arrived at their destined port, they discovered that the Dutch had made earlier acquisitions than themselves, and not only freighted two ships with cloves, but were preparing to lade two more with pepper. They, notwithstanding, had the good fortune

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(m) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 76. — Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 827. — Lediard's naval History, folio, V. 2. p. 415.

tune to obtain a cargo, and, at length, returned to England.

At Surat, captain Hawkins disembarked, and, having ordered the company of the *Hector* to proceed with the ship, to the isles of Banda, travelled, by land, to the court of the Great Mogul, at Agra, for the purpose of negotiating the affairs of the company, and establishing their commerce, in different parts of the East-Indies.

On the arrival of the English, belonging to the *Hector*, at the isles of Banda, they were obliged, instantly, to engage in the regulations of the customs, and payments, which were a part in money, and a part in merchandize. Having adjusted this point, they proceeded to introduce a trade, but met with great obstacles to their endeavours from the insidious practices of the Dutch, who, when they discovered that the English were in treaty with the natives of Puloway, for the establishment of a factory in that island, made use of every effort to prevent them from succeeding. They were not, however, able to hinder them from obtaining nearly thirteen hundred weight of mace, and half a ton of nutmegs.

In the mean time, the English having been informed that the Dutch intended to erect a fort at Banda, foresaw the pernicious consequences which must arise from such a measure, and, therefore, proposed to the chief inhabitants of the place, that they should embrace an opportunity previous to the construction of the fort, and make a formal delivery of the spot, in the name of the king of England, to his subjects, then present. With this expedient, they appeared willing to concur, yet were treacherously leaning to the interest of the Dutch, whom they affected to despise. Constant in their declarations of friendship, and attachment to the

the English, they had affirmed that their spices should be suffered to rot on the trees, rather than that the Dutch should possess a single ounce; yet they would never accede to measures designed to curb the power of the latter, and, in secret, gave the preference to the party which opposed the English. An historian (n) hath observed that they actually signed a treaty of commerce in favour of the last; but if this be fact, it is equally true that they broke it; a violation of faith for which they were severely punished, when the Dutch, having compleated their fort, treated them, and the English, with the most barbarous, and unexampled insolence.

The Bandanese, incensed at their behaviour, were now determined to obtain revenge, and, having inticed the Dutch admiral, with his chief followers, and the council, to a convenient spot, they put them instantly to the sword. They next devised a plot for the destruction of the rest, and would certainly have carried it into execution, but that the English interposed successfully on their behalf. To this bounty, they made the basest returns; and, in May, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nine, prepared for the commission of hostilities. In the succeeding month, they placed many unreasonable restraints on the commerce of the English, to all of which they were under the necessity of submitting, being only sixty-two in number, and, consequently unable to resist the oppressions of more than one thousand of their adversaries.

In the month of July, the power, and insolence of the Dutch had arisen to such extremes, that they delivered to the English an order, signed by the vice-admiral, and the members of the council, to depart

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(n) Purchas.

before the expiration of five days. They were obliged to compound with their formidable adversaries for a longer stay; and yet, after a short indulgence, were driven from the place, without having been permitted to compleat their lading.

From the isles of Banda, the English sailed to Bantam, where they took in three thousand, four hundred, and eighty-one bags of pepper, and having, in the month of May, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and ten, established a factory at this place, they returned to England, without the loss of a single man (o).

We must now acquaint the reader that the *Consent*, a vessel of the burthen of one hundred, and fifteen tons, and commanded by captain David Middleton, the brother of Sir Henry, soon quitted the other ships, and proceeded on a different voyage. In the month of July, she arrived within the bay of Soldania, and from thence, Middleton, and his associates, directed their course to Bantam, where they sold their cargo of lead and iron; and purchased other goods vendible at the Moluccas, towards which place they set sail on the sixth of December, and arrived there, at the beginning of January, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eight. Here they remained until the middle of March, but were greatly obstructed in their commerce by the Spaniards, who, at length, endeavoured to put a stop to their negociations, and, with much eagerness, pressed them to depart.

The natives, more courteous, endeavoured to trade with them secretly, and during the night, but were soon prevented from maintaining their intercourse, by the
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(o) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 76.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 188.—Lediard's Naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 416, 417.

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the Spaniards, who peremptorily insisted that the English should set sail immediately.

Accordingly, they departed from the Moluccas, and, on the twenty-third of April, entered the streights of Bangava. Here the natives discovered an inclination to engage in commerce with them, and solicited their attention by every favour which they could bestow. From the king of Botun, they received the most essential services. He visited them, on board of the *Consent*, invited them to his chief town, and directed a pilot to conduct their vessel thither. Here, this Prince renewed his civilities, and when some Javan ships arrived within the harbour, freighted with cloves, he suffered the whole cargo to be turned over, in exchange for European commodities, to the English.

Thus, successful, they took their leaves of this hospitable monarch, and returned to Bantam, where they arrived, on the twenty-second of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eight, and, having ended their trade, departed, on the fifteenth of July, for England (p).

In this year, also, began the fourth general voyage to the East-Indies. On the fourteenth of March, the *Ascension*, and the *Union*, sailed from Woolwich, under the chief command of captain Alexander Sharpey. They kept company as far as the bay of Soldania, where they arrived on the thirteenth of July, and remained until the twenty-fifth of September. Soon after their departure from this place, the two ships were separated, and the *Ascension* bore up with the islands of

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Comora,

(p) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 94.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 94.—Lediard's Naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 417.

Comora, between Saint Lawrence, and the main, where the English received great civilities from the sovereign of the country.

They next fell in with the island of Pemba, situated in six degrees of south latitude, where they experienced such treachery as induced them to name the place, Hell. Having quitted it, they took three pangays, or barks, belonging to the moors of Melinda, and carried all their principal men, to the number of fifty, on board of their own ship. But this action had like to have cost them dear, for, although the Moors had suffered themselves to be easily taken, it was only that they might gain an opportunity of being severely revenged by the massacre of their captors, and the seizure of their vessel. Availing themselves of a time when the English were the most unguarded, they suddenly drew their long knives, and dreadfully wounded the minister, one of the merchants, and two mates. The rest now stood so gallantly on their defence that of the fifty Moors, they slew forty, who proved to be of the best quality in Melinda; and some were of royal blood. Having sent the remaining ten on shore to carry the news of the deaths of their countrymen, the English, sensible that it must be inconsistent with their safety, to remain long near the place, crowded every sail, and stood out to sea.

In January, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nine, the English fell in with a cluster of thirteen pleasant, and fertile islands, but destitute of inhabitants, for which reason, they called them, the Desolate Islands.

From thence, they arrived, in April, at Aden, a place under the sovereignty of the Grand Turk, and the key to Arabia Felix. Here they were courteously entertained by the bashaw, and left two merchants,
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for the purpose of establishing a settlement. Their success in this measure was obtained at a dear price. As they had not any patent from the Grand Signor, the bashaw pretended that he only granted to them the freedom of commerce, by connivance, and in return for the favour, took from them the whole parcel of valuable cloth which they had sent up to the place of his residence.

The English next set sail for Moha, or Mocha, a city on the Red Sea, and the grand staple for all the Indian trade, where they also found a courteous reception. From hence, they proceeded to Cambaya; where the ship was lost on the shoals, at the distance of eighteen leagues from the shore, a calamity, which in some measure, must be attributed to the obstinacy of the captain, who refused to take a pilot, notwithstanding that he was forewarned of dangers. The crew had the good fortune to reach the land, and travelled to Surat, from whence they returned, in safety, to England.

When the Union had weathered out the storm which arose soon after her separation from the *Ascension*, she came to an anchor, at the island of Saint Lawrence, and next proceeded to Zanzibar, where the natives proved as traitorous as the savages at Pemba. From this place, she sailed for Madagascar; and entered the bay, at the expiration of a fortnight. Here, the English were exposed to the most alarming dangers, and suffered great losses in consequence of the barbarity, and rapacious disposition of the inhabitants.

From Madagascar, they directed their course to Achen, where, at length, surmounting a formidable opposition which proceeded from the Dutch, they were taken under the protection of the king, who generously assisted them in the establishment of a commerce with the Guzurats. Having remained, during some time,

time, at this place, they proceeded to Piaman, situated on the same island of Sumatra, where they at once engaged in so extensive, and prosperous a commerce, that their felicity, at this settlement, seemed amply to compensate for their past misfortunes. Having procured a full cargo of pepper, and other commodities, they set sail for England, but were detained on their passage, by a variety of occurrences more unfortunate than any in which they had hitherto engaged (q).

On the first of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and seven, a vessel which had been equipped at the expence of several merchants, of the port of London, set sail from Gravesend, under the command of Mr. Henry Hudson, who, attended by nine men, and a boy, was directed to attempt discoveries towards the north pole. On the twenty-seventh of June, they descried Greenland. As the wind was favourable, they coasted it, in a smooth sea, without ground at an hundred fathom, and distant four leagues from the land. They now supposed that they were in the latitude of seventy-eight degrees, and not far from Vogel Hook. On the fourteenth of July, they entered the bay which hath since borne the name of Hudson. At the mouth of it were thirty fathoms water; beyond it seventy-six fathoms; but, farther on, no ground could be discovered at the depth of an hundred fathoms; a circumstance which induced them to conclude that it was rather a sound, than a bay. On the southern side of it, lay three small islands, or rocks. On the fifteenth, and when the
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(q) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 228.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 96.—Lediard's Naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 417, 418.

weather was extremely clear, they observed the high-land of Greenland to the north-east, and, at the distance of twenty leagues. If their accounts can be depended on, the land which they then saw stretched into eighty-one degrees (*r*). On the sixteenth, having run towards the farthest part of the land which they had discovered, they could perceive more land which joined the former, and stretched into eighty-two degrees. The vast quantities of ice to the northward, prevented them from proceeding farther, and therefore, they directed their course, homewards, and, on the sixteenth of September, arrived safely in the Thames (*s*).

It hath been pretended that this streight, and bay, which bear the name of Hudson, were first discovered by a Dane, who, in compliment to Christian, the fourth, the then reigning king of Denmark, gave them the appellation of Christiana. Yet Hudson was, at least, the first adventurer who discovered it to the English, and first ventured so near the extremity of the bay. During the voyage, he gave to several places, names which they still retain. Amongst these are Whale-bay, Hackluyt's Head-land, and Hudson's Touches.

Let it suffice to inform the reader that on the twenty-second of April, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eight, Mr. Hudson, attended by fifteen persons, set sail from Saint Catherine's, in order to find a passage to the East-Indies, by the north-east. The

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(*r*) The author of the British Empire in America observes that they discovered it only as far as eighty degrees, and twenty-three minutes.

(*s*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 464.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 564.—British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 383.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 2. p. 419.

occurrences of the voyage are, in general (*t*), too immaterial to be related in this work. He returned to Gravesend, on the twenty-sixth of the ensuing month of August.

In the following year, this adventurer made a third voyage towards Nova Zembla, and, after having descried the northern cape of Finmark, sailed to Newfoundland, to Cape Cod, and to Virginia.

A celebrated naval writer (*u*) after having observed that the disputes for naval superiority between England, and the States of Holland subsisted during a course of several years, adds that although the Dutch were defeated in all their pretensions, and the prerogatives of the British sovereignty maintained in the full spirit of the claim, yet the states appeared determined to take a future vengeance on a people who had reduced them to so humble a submission, and accordingly proceeded to such acts of violence as never would have been tolerated, nor, perhaps, attempted, during the reign

(*t*) One circumstance is, notwithstanding, too memorable to be omitted. We introduce the passage which relates to it from a journal of the voyage, and leave the reader to form his judgment of the credibility of the assertion.

"On the fifteenth of June, one of our company, looking overboard, saw a Mermaid, and calling for more of the crew to observe her, another person came up, by which time she had reached the side of the ship, and looked earnestly at the men. Soon afterwards, a Wave overset her. From the navel upwards, her back, and breasts were like those of a woman; her body as large as one of ours, her skin very white, and, on her head, long black hair. As she sank, we perceived her tail, which was like that of a porpoise, and speckled also as is a mackrel. The names of the men who saw her were Thomas Hills, and Robert Rayner."

(*u*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 14.

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reign of the spirited Elizabeth. The great officer (x) who so thoroughly understood the nature of these transactions, doth not charge either the king, or his ministry, in general, with a pusillanimous forbearance to enforce justice from the Dutch to the irritated, and injured English. He throws the whole condemnation on secretary Cecil (y), who is described as having esteemed it sound policy to pass by all offences of this kind. It must be remarked (z) that he doth not mention any reasons on which such policy was grounded (a); neither did it absolutely, or constantly prevail, even in the councils of James, the first. On the contrary, it appears that when it was surmised that foreigners assumed unwarrantable liberties, by fishing in our sea; a proclamation came forth (b), in which the right of the king to a naval sovereignty, in this, as in other cases, on the adjoining ocean, was firmly, and positively asserted; and all foreign nations were cautioned not to fish on the British coast. This prohibition, although general in appearance, had yet a more particular relation to the Dutch, who found themselves much affected thereby; and, especially, when

(x) Sir William Monson.

(y) Afterwards created earl of Salisbury.

(z) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 14.

(a) The reader will find the dispatches of this minister, in Winwood's memorials. The great point for which the States of Holland contended, was the necessity that England should observe in matters which related to them, the old treaties with the house of Burgundy. Perhaps, the earl of Salisbury countenanced the Dutch, because his father had persuaded Elizabeth to insist on those treaties as sufficient to justify her, when, notwithstanding her leagues with Spain, she extended her assistance to the provinces.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 14.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 244.

(b) A. D. 1608.

when the king appointed commissioners at London, for the purpose of granting licences to such foreigners as desired to fish on the English coast; and, likewise, at Edinburgh, that they might confer the same powers on those who solicited for leave to fish within the Northern sea. The Dutch, although with great reluctance, submitted, at this period, to such offensive regulations; nor can any motive be assigned for so passive an acquiescence, except that affairs which they then endeavoured to negotiate, at the court of Great Britain, were of the first importance to the public welfare of their States (*c*). Here, in spite of former insults, they proved successful; and, on the twenty-sixth of June, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eight, two treaties were concluded between the crown of Great Britain, and the States-General. The one was of peace, and alliance; and the other respected the calculation, and settlement of the debt due to James, the first (*d*). It is remarked (*e*) that one obvious inference might have been that the advantages which resulted from these treaties, ought to have brought the republic to a better temper concerning matters of a different nature. Yet so contrary was the effect of this occurrence, that, not long afterwards, the Dutch disputed the payment of the assize-herring, in Scotland, and the licence money,

in

(*c*) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 358, 359.—England's Way to win Wealth, &c. by Tobias Gentleman. London, 1614. Quarto. In this scarce, and curious tract, which is dedicated to the earl of Northampton, are described at large, the injuries which the British nation suffered, when the Dutch fished within their Seas—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 15.

(*d*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom 16. p. 674. et sequen.

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 15.

in England, and, in order to protect their fellow-subjects from the penalties which might attend such a refusal, they sent ships of force to escort their herring-busses (*f*). A naval historian (*g*) judged it necessary to relate these incontestable facts, although without the least prejudice against the Dutch, who certainly deserve to be commended for all such instances of public spirit as appear to be consistent with the rights of their neighbours, and the law of nations (*h*).

At this period, the ministers, who stood too much in awe of parliaments, to run the hazard of losing any of the national rights, in consequence of a neglect to insist on them, prevailed on James to republish the following proclamation, that the commons might be convinced that they had done their duty, and also, advise with the king concerning the measures necessary to be pursued.

The PROCLAMATION concerning FISHING.

“ **W**HEREAS, We have been contented, since our
 “ coming to the crown, to tolerate an indif-
 “ ferent, and promiscuous kind of liberty, to all our
 “ friends whatsoever, to fish within our streams, and
 “ upon any of our coast of Great-Britain, Ireland,
 “ and other adjacent islands, so far forth as the per-
 “ mission, or use thereof, might not redound to the
 “ impeachment of our prerogative royal, or to the
 “ hurt,

(*f*) Seldeni Mare Claus. Lib. 2. Cap. 31. ex Rot. Parliament. 4 Jac. 6. Cap. 60. et Rot. Parliament. 6. ejusdem Cap. 86.

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 15.

(*h*) The vouchers for these facts may all be found in the paper-office.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 15.

“ hurt, and damage of our loving subjects, whose
“ preservation, and flourishing estate, we hold our-
“ selves principally bound to advance before all world-
“ ly respects : so finding, that our continuance there-
“ in, hath not only given occasion of over-great en-
“ croachments upon our regalities, or rather question-
“ ing of our right, but hath been a mean of daily
“ wrongs to our own people, that exercise the trade
“ of fishing, as (either by the multitude of strangers,
“ which do pro-occupy those places, or by the inju-
“ ries which they receive most commonly at their
“ hands) our subjects are constrained to abandon their
“ fishing, or at least, are become so discouraged in the
“ same, as they hold it better for them to betake
“ themselves to some other course of living, where-
“ by not only diverse of our coast-towns are much
“ decayed, but the number of our mariners daily di-
“ minished, which is a matter of great consequence to
“ our estate, considering how much the strength
“ thereof consisteth in the power of shipping, and
“ use of navigation ; We have thought it now both
“ just, and necessary, in respect, that we are now,
“ by God’s favours, lineally, and lawfully possessed,
“ as well of the island of Great Britain, as of Ireland,
“ and the rest of the isles adjacent ; to bethink our-
“ selves of good, and lawful means, to prevent those
“ inconveniencies, and many others depending on the
“ same. In consideration whereof, as we are desir-
“ ous that the world may take notice, that we have
“ no intention to deny our neighbours, and allies,
“ those fruits, and benefits of peace, and friendship,
“ which may be justly expected at our hands, in ho-
“ nour, and reason, or are afforded by other princes
“ mutually in the Point of Commerce, and Exchange
“ of those Things which may not prove prejudicial to
“ Them ;

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“ them ; so because some such convenient order may
“ be taken in this matter, as may sufficiently provide
“ for all those important considerations which depend
“ thereupon ; we have resolved, first, to give notice
“ to all the world, that our express pleasure is, that,
“ from the beginning of the month of August next
“ coming, no person of what nation or quality so-
“ ever, being not our natural born subject, be per-
“ mitted to fish upon any of our coasts, and seas of
“ Great-Britain, Ireland, and the rest of the isles ad-
“ jacent, where most usually heretofore any fishing
“ hath been, until they have orderly demanded, and
“ obtained licences from us, or such our commissi-
“ oners as we have authorized in that behalf, viz. at
“ London, for our Realms of England, and Ireland, and
“ at Edinburgh, for our realm of Scotland, which li-
“ cences our intention is, shall be yearly demanded for
“ so many vessels, and ships, and the tonnage there-
“ of, as shall intend to fish for that whole year, or any
“ part thereof, upon any of our coasts, and seas, as
“ aforesaid, upon pain of such chastisement, as shall
“ be fit to be inflicted upon such as are wilful offend-
“ ers.”

Given, at our palace of Westminster, on the
sixth day of May, in the seventh year
of our reign of Great Britain, Anno
Dom. 1609.

We cannot, in this place, take leave of the subject,
without observing that, during the reign of James, some
contentions arose with the French, relative to the same
right of fishery, and the sovereignty of the sea ;
but these were determined under every respect, in
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four of the English, through the prudent, and gallant conduct of Sir William Monson (*i*).

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eight, complaints were made to the king that great abuses, frauds, corruptions, negligencies, misdemeanours, and offences, were committed in the management of the navy, and other offices, thereunto belonging, and likewise that the officers, soldiers, and mariners, in the service of the royal fleet had pursued a conduct which merited the severest reprehension. It was therefore deemed necessary to appoint a committee of inquiry, who were to deliver their report concerning the ground, and justice of these complaints. A copy, from the original register is here submitted to the inspection of the reader.

MS. in BISH. COTTON. Jul. F. III. Fol. 3.

“ JAMES, by the grace of GOD, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our right trusty, and right well-beloved cousins, and counsellors, Henry, earl of Northampton, lord keeper of our privy seal, and lord warden of our Cinque Ports, and Charles, earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral of England, and to our right trusty, and well-beloved counsellors, Edward, lord Zouch, and Edward, lord Wotton, comptroller of our household; and to our trusty, and right well-beloved counsellors, Sir Julius Cæsar, Knight, chancellor, and under-treasurer
“ of

(*i*) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 243.—Gentleman's England's Way to wjn Wealth, p. 341.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 18.

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" of our exchequer ; and to Sir Thomas Parry, knight,
 " chancellor of our duchy of Lancaster ; and to our
 " trusty, and well-beloved, Sir Edward Philips,
 " knight, and to Sir John Doderige, knight, our ser-
 " jeants at law, Sir Henry Hobart, knight, our at-
 " torney-general, Sir Francis Bacon, knight, our
 " solicitor-general, Sir William Woade, knight, our
 " lieutenant of our tower of London, Sir Christopher
 " Perkins, knight, Sir Robert Cotton, knight, Sir
 " Thomas Crompton, knight, and to John Corbet, es-
 " quire, one of the clerks of our privy council, greeting.
 " Whereas we are informed, that very great, and in-
 " tolerable abuses, deceits, frauds, corruptions,
 " negligences, misdemeanors, and offences have been,
 " and daily are, perpetrated, committed, and done,
 " against the continual admonitions, and directions
 " of you, our high-admiral, by other the officers
 " of, and concerning our Navy Royal, and by the
 " clerks of the prick, and check, and divers other in-
 " ferior officers, ministers, soldiers, mariners, and
 " others, serving, working, or labouring, in, or about
 " our said Navy, or other things concerning the same,
 " the great decay, hinderance, and weakening of
 " our said Navy Royal, and of our stores, and pro-
 " visions belonging to the same ; being, under GOD's
 " providence, one of the principal strengths, and de-
 " fences of our crown, and kingdoms, We, mind-
 " ing that the said intolerable abuses, frauds, misde-
 " meanours, and offences, shall forthwith be inquired
 " of, the offenders therein condignly punished, and
 " also to provide a speedy reformation, of the same,
 " for the time to come. And reposing assured trust,
 " and confidence in your approved wisdoms, fideli-
 " ties, and circumspections, have assigned, and ap-
 " pointed you to be our commissioners, and do, by
 " these

“ these presents, give and grant full and free liber-
 “ ty, power, and authority unto you, or any three,
 “ or more of you, as is aforesaid, as well the treasu-
 “ rer, comptroller, surveyor, clerk of the navy,
 “ purveyors, and other officers of the Navy, whatso-
 “ ever, that now are, as those that have been in the
 “ said offices, since the year one thousand, five
 “ hundred, and ninety-eight, and all, and every, or any
 “ of their servants, Deputies, officers, or substitutes,
 “ as all other such inferior officers, and ministers,
 “ whatsoever, having, or pretending to have, or that
 “ have had, or pretended to have, any office, charge,
 “ function, or Employment, whatsoever, in, or about
 “ our said Navy, and all other Persons, who have had
 “ any meddling, or dealing, with the buying, sel-
 “ ling, bringing-in, or carrying-forth, taking-in, or
 “ delivering-out, or any other kind of dealing, in,
 “ about, or concerning the stores, and provisions be-
 “ longing to our navy. And also all masters of ships,
 “ purfers, boatswains, shipwrights, artificers, la-
 “ bouring men, soldiers, mariners, and other per-
 “ sons whatsoever, that are, or have been, appointed
 “ to any charge, office, labour, employment, or
 “ business, in or about our said navy. And all other
 “ persons whatsoever, whom you, or any three, or
 “ more of you, as is aforesaid, shall think fit. And
 “ to inquire, search, discover, and find out, as well by
 “ the oaths of good, and lawful men, by whom the
 “ truth of the premises may be best known, as also
 “ by examination of witnesses, and by all other
 “ ways, and means, whatsoever, which to you, or
 “ any three, or more of you, as is aforesaid, shall seem
 “ convenient, all, and every the abuses, deceits,
 “ frauds, corruptions, negligences, misdemeanors,
 “ and offences aforesaid. And, also to cause all, and
 “ every

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“ every the said officers of our navy, and other per-
 “ sons, whom you, or any three, or more of you, as
 “ is aforesaid, shall think fit, to bring, or cause to be
 “ brought, before you, or any three, or more of you,
 “ as is aforesaid, all, and every their books of entry,
 “ books of office, register-books, books of accounts,
 “ books of survey, books of issues, both rough-
 “ books, and quarter books, of prick, and all other
 “ books, and writings, which they, or any of them,
 “ keep, or ought to keep, by reason of their several
 “ offices, and places. And to survey, peruse, cast up,
 “ and examine all their said books, accounts, and
 “ writings, and also to cause them, and every, or
 “ any of them, to shew unto you, or any three, or
 “ more of you, as is aforesaid, all such warrants, or
 “ discharges, as they, or any of them, can produce,
 “ for, or concerning any matter, or thing, by them,
 “ or any of them, done, touching, or concerning our
 “ said navy, or touching, or concerning any provisi-
 “ ons, victuals, stores, pay, or other things, belong-
 “ ing to our said navy. And for your more ease,
 “ and expedition of this our commission, our will,
 “ and pleasure is, that you, or any three, or more of
 “ you, as is aforesaid, shall appoint such of our au-
 “ ditors, and clerks to attend upon you, or any three,
 “ or more of you, as is aforesaid, for the casting up
 “ of the said accounts, and performance of such other
 “ business, in and about the premises, as you, or any
 “ three, or more of you, as is aforesaid, shall think fit,
 “ for the better expediting of our said service. For
 “ which purpose, we do also by these presents,
 “ strictly charge and command our said auditors,
 “ and clerks, to be ready, and attendant upon you,
 “ or any three, or more of you, as is aforesaid, as
 “ often as you shall require the same. And for that

" it may sometimes fall out, that divers persons, whose
 " examinations, depositions, and confessions are very
 " necessary to be had, for the discovery of the truth,
 " and certainty of the premisses, are either dwelling, or
 " abiding in far remote countries, and places, where-
 " by their testimony may be lost, or their coming
 " up very chargeable; or are otherwise so sick, or im-
 " potent, as they cannot travel. Therefore, We are
 " well pleased, for the ease of such persons, that every
 " note, or writing, subscribed with the hands of
 " you, or any three, or more of you, as is aforesaid,
 " and directed to the lord chancellor of England, or
 " to the lord keeper of the great seal of England, for
 " the time being, requiring therein, that a commis-
 " sion, or commissions may be made forth, under
 " our great seal of England, unto such person, or
 " persons, as you, or any three, or more of you, as is
 " aforesaid, shall think good, for the taking of the
 " confessions, examinations, or depositions of such
 " person, or persons, as you, or any three, or more of
 " you, as is aforesaid, shall think fit to be examined,
 " touching the premises, or any part thereof, shall,
 " from time, to time, be a good, and sufficient war-
 " rant, and discharge unto you, the said lord Chan-
 " cellor, or lord keeper, of the great seal, for the
 " making forth of every such commission, and com-
 " missions, under our great seal, accordingly. And
 " our farther will, and pleasure is, and We do here-
 " by strictly charge, and command you, our said
 " commissioners, or any three, or more of you, as is
 " aforesaid, to certify unto us, from time, to time,
 " of your proceedings herein, to the end that we may
 " take such farther order therein, as we shall think
 " meet. In witness whereof, we have caused these
 " our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself,
 " at

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" at Westminster, on the thirtieth day of April, in the
" sixth year of our reign of England, France, and
" Ireland, and of Scotland, the one and fortieth."

P bre de privato Sigillo.

On the twenty-fourth of April, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nine, captain David Middleton, sailed, in the Expedition, from the Downs, for Java, and Banda. The particulars related concerning this voyage, which was the fifth made on the account of the East-India company, are confined chiefly to the perfidy of the Dutch, notwithstanding whose intrigues, Middleton was so successful to obtain, at Puloway, a large cargo of spices, at a period when his opponents were not able to procure a single pound of the same commodity. For this success he was indebted to that bravery which suggested to him the expediency of declaring to the governour, that he would trade with the natives, in spite of every attempt which might be made to prevent him. Intimidated by this menace, the Dutch, although their naval force was ten times superior to that of Middleton, refrained from opposition, and suffered him to depart in triumph. At the commencement of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eleven, this officer arrived, with his vessel, at the port of London (†).

The unfortunate expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to Newfoundland, which he, notwithstanding, took possession of in the name of Elizabeth, had made

C c 4 so

(†) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 99.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 238.—Lediard's naval History, folio, V. 2. p. 422.—In May, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nine, James conferred on the East-India company an augmentation of their privileges, in a charter by which they were incorporated for ever.

so deep an impression on the minds of the English, that they could not endure the thought of transporting themselves to an inhospitable shore, where it was judged difficult to procure the common necessaries of existence. At length, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nine, Mr. John Guy, a merchant, and, afterwards, mayor of Bristol, roused the interested passions of the multitude, by the publication of an ingenious treatise, which encouraged his fellow subjects to offer their assistance for the establishment of a colony, at Newfoundland. His own solicitations for the advancement of this enterprize were crowned with such success that, on the twenty-seventh of April, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and ten, the king made a grant of all that part of the island from Cape Bonavista, in the North, to Cape Saint Mary, in the South, to the earl of Southampton, lord keeper, Sir Lawrence Tanfield, lord chief-baron, Sir John Dodderidge, king's serjeant, Sir Francis Bacon, solicitor-general, Sir Daniel Donn, Sir Walter Cope, Sir Perceval Willoughby, Sir John Constable, John Weld, Esquire, and others, who sent over thither a colony, under the direction of Mr. Guy, who was appointed governour.

After a voyage of twenty days, this adventurer arrived at the place of his destination, and landed near Conception Harbour. Here, he, and his associates, constructed huts, to serve as habitations during their stay. So courteous was the behaviour of the English, and their chief, to all the natives, that they intirely gained the friendship of the latter, and were permitted, without interruption, to carry those measures into execution which were the most likely to accomplish the establishment of the colony. Yet, notwithstanding these favourable occurrences, the most strenuous endea-

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endeavours of Mr. Guy, and his associates were of no avail; and they, at length, returned to England (1).

On the third of March, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nine, Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire, a gentleman descended from a noble house, proceeded, with several adventurers, from Dartmouth, to Guiana. The vessels employed on this voyage were the *Rose*, of the burthen of eighty tons, the *Patience*, a pinnace, of the burthen of thirty-six tons, and the *Lily*, a shallop, of the burthen of nine tons. In the *Rose*, were Mr. Harcourt, commander in chief, the captains, Edward Fisher, and Edward Harvey, Mr. Edward Gifford, Mr. Thomas Harcourt, thirty-one gentlemen, and others, landmen, two Indians, and twenty-three mariners. In the *Patience*, were captain Michael Harcourt, with twenty gentlemen, and others, landmen, and eleven sailors. In the *Lily*, of which Jasper Lily was the master, were one landman, and two mariners.

On the seventeenth of May, they arrived in the bay of Wiapoco, and soon afterwards, several Indians came in canoes, and demanded who they were. Being answered that England was their native country, they were instantly freed from all apprehension of hostilities, and leaping, without ceremony, on board, accosted their visitors with every mark of amity, and joy. Such were the favourable impressions which had been given to them by the liberal conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh, whose name they now mentioned with veneration. These Indians, who appeared happy to trade with the English, were the inhabitants of a town, called Caripo, and situated on the eastern side of the hill, at the mouth of the river Wiapoco. Their king,

(1) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 860.—British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 3.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1876. Lediard's naval History, folio, V. 2. p. 422.

king, or chief lord, who had resided, during some years, in England, was then the shipmate of Mr. Harcourt, but did not reveal his quality, until the joy of his subjects, at the sight of him, had made him known. Amongst the Indians who came first on board, was one who understood the English language, and, having lived, several years, in the service of Sir John Gilbert, was well known to many of the crew. The Indian also who accompanied the king had resided, during fourteen years, in London. These two men proved, afterwards, of greater service to the English.

When the first ceremonies were passed, captain Harcourt informed the Indians that he was come in order to establish a colony, and take possession of the country, in the name of the king of England, by virtue of a grant of it first made by their countrymen to Sir Walter Raleigh, and next by themselves to captain Leigh. They were now solemnly assured by Harcourt, and his associates, that it was not the intention of James, their sovereign, either to usurp over them an illegal power, or treat them as a people in a state of servitude; but that he was determined to approve himself their steady friend, and continual protector, and by force of arms to deliver them from the insolences, and oppressions of the Caribboes. After some debate, the Indians consented that the English should live amongst them, and promised to supply them with all necessaries, and prepare for them convenient habitations. They could not, however, forbear expressing their apprehensions that some of their assurances were insincere, and apologized for their mistrust by observing that the inattention of Sir Walter Raleigh to the performance of his word, had made them less sanguine in their reliance on the plighted faith of others.

When

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When the necessary treaties were concluded, the English disembarked, and were courteously received by the natives, who conducted them to dwellings within the town, and situated, in different parts, on the side of the hill, at the foot of which the vessels rode at anchor. When the heavy rains, which continued during a whole month, had ceased to fall, captain Harcourt, proceeded in search of the golden mountains, which were one of the chief objects of his enterprize. Arriving at the spot, he could not discover any traces of a mine, and reproached his guide, who, during the voyage, affirmed that the earth abounded with this precious metal, for an intention to deceive him. It appears, however, that the charge was not well-grounded, and the English had reason to be convinced that the country afforded gold, as well from the assurances given to them by the natives, who shewed them certain images which, after an assay, appeared to contain, at least, one third of gold, as by ocular demonstration of great quantities of the white spar in which the gold engenders, and which they found to contain both gold, and silver. On this occasion, the ardour of the English was much abated by the consideration that the mines, being situated in the higher parts of Guiana, were too distant, and, perhaps, so powerfully guarded that all attempts to enter them must prove dangerous, and ineffectual.

These disappointments had nearly excited a mutiny amongst those who quitted England with the sole view of rising suddenly into opulence; but the prudence, humanity, and resolution of Harcourt, prevented their dissensions from running into violent extremes. Lest a state of idleness should have roused the turbulency of their disposition, he judged it necessary to put them all in action, and, with some of
his

his associates, proceeded, in order to make discoveries, up the river of Wiapoco, whilst his brother, attended by the rest, sailed, for the same purposes, to the river Arrawary, and disembarked on the neighbouring land, which adjoined to the river of the Amazons. He also in the presence of his own people, and of the Indians, took possession, with the usual ceremonies, of the mountain Gomeribo, which is the uttermost point of land to the northward of the river Wiapoco. The mountain was now assigned to an Indian, who was permitted to hold the same, for himself, and his heirs, of the king of England, paying the yearly duty of a tenth part of all tobacco, cotton-wool, annoto, and other commodities growing within the limits of the same.

The expedition of the captains Michael Harcourt, and Harvey, to the river Arrawary, was attended with great difficulties. Their passage by sea to this river was nearly an hundred leagues, and through dreadful breaks upon the flats, and shoals. They sailed, likewise, fifty leagues up the river, and, during their whole course, were in flat-bottomed canoes, somewhat longer, but not broader than the common wherries of the Thames.

The Indians, whom they met, on the banks of the river, plainly discovered that they had never seen the face of an European. It was with difficulty that they could be induced to trade, or even converse with the English, notwithstanding that they perceived Indians, in their company. At length, the sight of several trinkets had a more fortunate effect, and they agreed to take them in exchange for a small quantity of provisions. With a supply so scanty, the English became soon in want of necessaries, and, therefore, after having taken possession of the country, with the
same

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same forms observed at Gomeribo, they returned to Wiapoco.

An alarming incident now gave rise to the departure of Mr. Harcourt. The master had neglected, when in England, to have the casks bound with hoops of iron, and in this hot climate, the staves started, and great quantities of beer, and fresh water, were intirely wasted. In order to obtain a sufficient number of new, and proper casks, the captain, on the eighteenth of August, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nine, proceeded homewards, after having appointed his brother commander in chief. To this officer, captain Harvey was joined as an assistant; and under them were Mr. Gifford, a lieutenant, and fifty men.

During the passage, Harcourt made several discoveries on the coasts, and in many of the rivers. At length, on the twenty-ninth of November, he arrived in Ireland, and, soon afterwards, reached London, where, through the favour of Henry prince of Wales, he obtained a grant by patent, to him, and to his heirs, of all the coast called Guiana, together with the river of the Amazons; but he was so involved in troubles, as to be unable to supply his colony, and only sent over a small number of men, and certain Hollanders, whose attempts were, in general, unsuccessful. Captain Harcourt, notwithstanding, kept possession of the place, during three years, and, in that space of time, lost only six of his associates (*m*).

With-

(*m*) The particulars relating to the voyage to Guiana are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1267.—Harris's coll. Part 1. p. 715.—Appendix to Smith's General history of Virginia, p. 49—and Lediard's naval history, Folio. V. 2. p. 423, 424.

Without entering too diffusely into the affairs of Virginia, it may be necessary to inform the reader that the company in London not finding the returns which they expected from their colonies, and rightly judging that these disadvantages proceeded from neglects in administration, presented a petition to the king, and obtained a new patent, with leave to appoint a governour.

They now sent out nine ships, together with numbers of men, and a large supply of provisions. Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and captain Newport, who, as joint governours, or commissioners, were invested with equal powers, sailed at the same time; but the ship on board of which they were sank (as we shall have occasion to relate hereafter,) near the Bermudas. The rest of this fleet, with the passengers, arrived at Virginia; but, as the colonists were without a chief, and refused to accept of any, such disorders arose as nearly threatened the destruction of the settlement, which, at this period, was deprived of one of its best supports, by the absence of captain Smith, who was obliged to return to England, in order to obtain a cure of a severe illness, the consequence of wounds which he had received, during the explosion of a quantity of gunpowder. At his departure, he left six hundred men upon the spot, and it is remarkable that previous to the expiration of seven months, only sixty remained alive. The rest who extravagantly wasted their provisions, perished for want of necessaries; and the whole colony must have shared the same fate, if their relief had been delayed only eight days longer (n).

In

(n) Lediard's Naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 425.

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In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and ten, the East-India company sent out Sir Henry Middleton, on a sixth voyage, for their account, with a larger fleet than had hitherto been employed on such occasions. It consisted of four ships; the Trade's Increase, admiral, and of the burthen of one thousand tons; the Pepper-Corn, vice-admiral, of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons; the Darling, of the burthen of nineteen tons, and a victualling bark, of the burthen of one hundred, and eighty tons.

At the arrival of Sir Henry Middleton, at Moha, he delivered the letters, and presents, from the king, to the bashaw, and aga, and was received by them with every appearance of respect, and friendship. This courteous conduct was, notwithstanding, a prelude to the violence of hostilities. The Mahometans having in vain attempted to intice the English to quit their ships, and disembark with all their effects, attacked them, with great fury, on the tenth of November, slew eight, and desperately wounded fourteen, whom, together with the admiral, they cast into prison, and inhumanly chained them to each other, by their necks.

The Mahometans next made an attempt on the Darling, but were gallantly repulsed by the crew, who killed all their adversaries, excepting one. So complete a victory put a stop to the renewal of engagements, but seemed to heighten the persecution against the English who were imprisoned. The admiral was now threatened with the loss of his head if he did not deliver up the ships, but he chose rather to sacrifice his life, than honour, and bravely set the Mahometans at defiance. Having suffered an imprisonment of nearly six months, Sir Henry Middleton found means, at the beginning of May, in the year, one thou-

thousand, six hundred, and eleven, to escape, with most of his associates, to the ships, which had remained in a safe harbour, on the coast of Abyssinia. He now enjoyed an opportunity of indulging his resentment, and of triumphing in his turn. He, therefore, dispatched a message to the aga, informing him that if he did not instantly release the remainder of the English, and make them ample satisfaction for the damages which they had sustained, he would set fire to all the ships within the road, and reduce the town, and citadel, to ashes. These menaces had the desired effect; the prisoners were delivered up; the pinnace was sent back; and eighteen thousand rials of eight were paid, in compensation for the injuries which had been received.

In July, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eleven, the English quitted this inhospitable shore, and proceeded on their Indian voyage. At the commencement of September, they entered within the road of Delisa, in the island of Socotora. From thence, continuing their course to Surat, they arrived, at the end of the same month, in Swally-road.

Here they received intelligence that the Portuguese, with a formidable armament of twenty sail, lay waiting at the bar of Surat, for the purpose either of intercepting them, or of obstructing the progress of their trade. Sir Henry, who felt himself reduced to the necessity of losing his voyage, or of fighting a passage through the fleet, resolved to pursue the last expedient, and not only had the good fortune to sail by his adversaries, but greatly damaged their ships, took one frigate, and vanquished the Portuguese, in several actions on the land.

They now disembarked, unresisted by the inhabitants, who, seduced by the groundless insinuations of
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the Jesuits, were averse from trading with them. Perceiving, after repeated efforts, that it would be impossible to obtain any of the commodities of the country, the English prepared for their departure; and having taken on board the captains Hawkins, and Sharpey, together with the rest of the factory, and their effects, set sail for Dabul. On their arrival at this place, their commerce took a more successful turn; and they likewise enjoyed an opportunity of extending their resentments to the Portuguese, from whom they seized a ship, of the burthen of three hundred tons; and a frigate of the burthen of sixty tons. The former was laden with cocoas, tin, sugar, rackanuts, china-dishes, spices, wax, allum, and bast-ropes. The cargo of the latter consisted of rice, and tamarinds.

From Dabul, the English returned to the Red Sea, where they arrived towards the end of March, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twelve, and had an opportunity of obtaining satisfaction for the damages which they had suffered at Mocha, by seizing seventeen Indian ships, from the burthen of fifteen hundred, to that of two hundred tons, in the valuable cargoes of which the inhabitants of Mocha were deeply concerned. When the English had plundered the ships of those commodities which they most wanted, they accepted of a ransom for the rest; and, on this occasion, fifteen thousand rials of eight were paid to redeem only one vessel.

Sir Henry, and his associates, next proceeded to Bantam, from whence he dispatched the *Darling*; for Macassar, and the other places. After the departure of this last vessel, the admiral, who stayed to repair his ship, died; and left his associates in great distress, notwithstanding the advantages which they had

reaped from the seizure of such valuably freighted vessels, during the course of their voyage (o), (p).

We shall now proceed to inform the reader that immediately on the departure of the English from New-England, the French took up their residence within their limits. Alarmed, and irritated at this proceeding, the colony of Virginia immediately dispatched Sir Samuel Argall, to displace them. This officer having taken possession of the forts which they had constructed at Mount Mansel, Saint Croix, and Port Real, carried all their ordnance, provisions, and even their ship, with them, and thus effectually frustrated the whole design which the French had formed of establishing themselves at that place. When some adventurers, in England, were informed of the expulsion of the French, they equipped a vessel, and gave the command of it to the captains Hobson, and Harley, who were supplied with men, arms, ammunition, and provisions, and directed to attempt discoveries which might once more revive the spirit of colonization. With these adventurers sailed (q) two Indians, the natives of the country, who had been in England, during some time, and were, on this occasion, likely to prove

(o) The particulars relating to the voyage to the East-Indies, are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 247. — Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 100. — Lediard's Naval History. Folio. V. 12. p. 426, 427.

(p) On the seventeenth of April, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and ten, Mr. Henry Hudson proceeded on his fourth, and last voyage, for the discovery of a north-west passage. About this period, also, captain Thomas Edge, and others, sailed to Greenland, at the charge of the Mulcovy-Company. As their enterprizes were not attended, on this occasion, by any remarkable event, it is on that account, unnecessary to trespass, by a tedious narrative, on the patience of the reader.

(q) A. D. 1611.

prove serviceable. It must be remarked that, previous to the arrival of Hobson, and his associates, one Hind, an Englishman, who, being of abandoned principles, was employed, as the fit instrument for the execution of the inhuman views of others, had seduced several natives on board of the vessel which he commanded, cast them underneath the hatches, and, having carried them away, sold them afterwards for slaves. A conduct at once so treacherous, and cruel, had exasperated the whole race of savages to such a violent degree, that, assisted by the two Indians who had arrived from England, (and who became equally incensed,) they made a furious, and unexpected assault, on Hobson, and his whole company, many of whom, notwithstanding their brave defence, were desperately wounded. The English, who now perceived that all the natives were in arms, and meditated a more sure, and terrible revenge, judged it prudent to depart, and accordingly, weighing anchor, stood out to sea, and, after a safe passage, arrived at Gravesend (r).

On the fifth of February, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eleven, captain Anthony Hippon departed, in a ship called the Globe, from the Downs, on a seventh voyage, made at the expence, and for the benefit of the East-India company. Suffice it that (without entering into a detail of immaterial circumstances,) we take notice of the only singular event in which this officer, and his associates, were engaged. The king of Narsinga, who had given the English an invitation to establish a factory in his country, dying whilst they were there, the govern-

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(*) British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 27.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 851.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 427, 428.

our took advantage of the confusion occasioned by that event, in order to evade the payment of a debt which was justly due to them. At the eve of their departure (s), and when they were convinced that all gentle attempts to obtain the money must prove of no effect, they privately conveyed some small arms on shore, resolving to seize either the governour, or his son, and to carry the prisoner on board, as a pledge for the demand. It was not long before they had an opportunity of executing their purpose. Observing that the son was standing near the custom-house, attended by a slight guard, they rushed forwards, and seized his person. As they were conveying him from the spot, a multitude of the inhabitants endeavoured to rescue him; but the English, in the sight of at least three thousand people, bore him in triumph to their ship, and from whence he was not released until the governour had paid the debt (t).

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eleven, the East-India company made preparations for another voyage, and, having equipped three vessels, the Clove, the Hector, and the Thames, gave the command of them to captain John Saris, who, on the eighteenth of April, sailed from the Downs, for the Red Sea, Java, the Moluccas, and Japan. The most important occurrence connected with this expedition was the first establishment of an English trade in the island of Japan. This great work was reserved for captain Saris, who, having visited the king of Firando, and Goto, (by whom he was courteously received,) went

(s) A. D. 1614. November 24th.

(t) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 314.—Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 110.—Lediard's Naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 428.

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went by land to Suranga, the residence of the emperor, of whom he had an audience. Soon after the delivery of the letters, and presents from the king of England, Saris obtained a grant of privileges for the company, together with dispatches, and the most valuable productions of the country, which he was directed to deliver to his sovereign. He returned to Plymouth, in September, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fourteen (u).

The next naval expedition was undertaken (x) by Sir Thomas Button, at the instigation of Henry Prince of Wales, to whose household he belonged. This adventurer whose chief object was to make discoveries to the north-west, passed Hudson's Streight, and, leaving Hudson's Bay to the south, sailed more than two hundred leagues to the south-westward, and discovered a great continent, which he called North-Wales. Having endured great hardships, in consequence of sickness, intense cold, and a scarcity of provisions, he wintered at Port Nelson, and then carefully searched all the bay, (which from him is called Button's Bay,) and proceeded back nearly to Digg's-Island. He also discovered the great land, called Swan's Nest. The severest situation to which he found himself reduced, was at Port Nelson, in fifty-seven degrees, and ten minutes of north latitude, where many of his associates perished through excess of cold (y).

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(u) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 344—440. — Harris's Coll. Part 2. p. 116. — Lediard's naval History, folio, V. 2. p. 428, 429.

(x) A. D. 1611.

(y) Introd. to Coll. of voyages, 6 Vol. in folio, p. 56. — Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 465—711. and V. 4. p. 1882. — Lediard's naval History, folio, V. 2. p. 429.

In this year, also, the Muscovy company fitted out the first ships which the English ever sent to Greenland, for the purpose of obtaining whales. These were the *Mary-Margaret*, of the burthen of one hundred, and sixty tons, commanded by Thomas Edge, and the *Elizabeth*, of the burthen of sixty tons, Jonas Poole, master. The company had engaged in their service, six men of Biscay, who were skilled in the whale-fishery, and from whom, the English first learned the art. About the twelfth of June, they killed a small whale, which yielded twelve tons of oil, being the first that was ever made in Greenland. This voyage proved, in some respects, unfortunate. The largest ship was cast away, and the other overset (z), (a).

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that the ship, on board of which were Sir George Sommers, and Sir Thomas Gates, having been separated, from the Virginia fleet, in a storm, was driven ashore, and dashed to pieces, at the Bermudas. These gentlemen, and the crew, were so fortunate as to reach the shore, where they refitted their shattered long-boat, and then sent her, with nine able mariners, to Virginia, in order that they might procure shipping from that country. Unhappily, these men were never heard of afterwards.

Notwithstanding the dangers to which they had lately been exposed, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Som-

(z) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 465.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. folio, p. 429.

(a) In this year also, a voyage (attended with no material events,) was made (in the ship, *Amity*, James Vadun, master, under the direction of William Gourdon, of Hull, pilot,) to the river, and town of Pechora, to Nova Nembla, and to the river Ob.

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Sommers, were not united by any of those bonds of amity which so frequently connect the fellow-sufferers of misfortune, but preserved a perpetual Spirit of animosity, and even induced their associates to divide themselves in two factions. To such violent extremes did their dissensions, at length, proceed, that the contending parties declared themselves resolved not to embark together in the same vessel. Two, therefore, called the *Patience*, and the *Deliverance*, were constructed of cedar, and rigged with the materials of the old ship. Instead of pitch, and tar, they made use of fish-oil, and hogs-grease, mixed with lime, and ashes.

On the eleventh of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and ten, the English, amounting in number to an hundred, and fifty men, sailed, in the two vessels, from the Bermudas, and, after a passage of fourteen days, arrived in Virginia. Of this colony, Sir George Sommers was appointed admiral, and sent by lord Delaware, the governour, to the Bermudas, in order that he might procure such provisions as those islands afforded, and, especially, hogs, and turtles.

Sir George Sommers missed the coast, and fell in with that of Sagadahoc, in Norembegua, from whence, after having taken in fresh water, and provision, he sailed in search of the Bermudas. At length, he reached them; but, being overcome by excess of fatigue, and far stricken in year, his vital powers were exhausted, and he died, almost in the moment that he disembarked. His last advice to his associates was that they should return to Virginia; but they embraced a different resolution, and, having stored their cedar-ship with such provisions as they could obtain, set sail for England. On their arrival, they gave so

favourable an account of the country to the Virginia company, that they deemed it advantageous to establish a correspondence between it, and England. Accordingly, they sold these islands to an hundred, and twenty persons, of the same society, who, became proprietors of them, and obtained a charter from the king. Of this new erected company, Sir Thomas Smith was the first treasurer, and governor.

It hath been observed that when Sir George Sommers departed, after his first landing, from the Bermudas, two men, whose names were Christopher Carter, and Edward Waters, remained behind, having committed some enormous crime, for which they would have suffered death, had they gone to Virginia. When Sommers returned, they were still at the Bermudas, and had constructed a hut on the island of Saint George. They refused to attend the second company on their departure, and persuaded one Edward Chard to remain with them. Being now sole lords of the country, each disputed concerning the share of power which he imagined himself intitled to possess; and with such bitterness did they endeavour to support their claims to sovereignty, that Chard, and Waters, would have rested the justice of their cause, in the issue of a personal engagement; but Carter, although he hated both, with equal violence, interposed for his own sake, and, dreading lest he should be left alone, declared that in the moment that they attempted to fight, he would oppose the man who should commit the first hostility.

Necessity at length induced them to unite in friendship, and they proceeded together on enterprizes of discovery. Their first prize was an enormous lump of ambergrease, which lay in the rock, and, exclusive of the pieces that were broken from it, weighed eighty pounds. At sight of such a treasure, they grew
frantic

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frantic with excess of joy, and, eager to gain an opportunity of converting it into money, they resolved instantly to build a boat in the best manner that they were able, and sail either to Virginia, or to Newfoundland, according as the wind, or weather should permit.

Before they could put so extravagant a project into execution, a ship arrived from England. She was called the Plough, and had, on board, sixty persons, sent by the new Bermudas company, for the purpose of establishing a settlement, at the head of which was placed Mr. Richard Moor, a faithful, brave, and experienced officer.

This governour chose a plain on the island of Saint George, for the residence of his wife, and family. When his associates observed that he had constructed a hut with palmeto-leaves, they followed his example; and thus, arose a kind of little village, which, in process of time, became Saint George's town, all the houses of which were built with cedar, and all the forts of hewn stone, according to the first plan which had been executed by Moor.

In a year after the arrival of the governour, a ship entered the harbour, from England, with a recruit of provisions, and thirty passengers. At this period, one of the three persons who had found, and hitherto concealed the ambergrease, discovered it to Moor, who seized it as belonging to the proprietors of the colony. He sent one third of it to the company at London, by the vessel which brought the supplies; and the rest forwarded soon afterwards, in the same proportions. This acquisition so encouraged the adventurers, that they continued to supply the colonists with provisions, stores, and more men, until they were in a
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condition to defend, and support themselves. The governour, on his side, made ample, and valuable returns in ambergrease, drugs, cedar, tobacco, and the other products of the island. Such was the first prosperous state of this plantation.

The governour continued upon the spot, during three years, and from time, to time, was reinforced by men, until the whole number of inhabitants amounted to more than six hundred, who builded several forts, and other places of defence. The great quantities of Rats, supposed to have been bred from those which quitted the ship, and got ashore, had almost consumed the provisions of the colonists. During the course of four years, they devoured all the growth of the country, notwithstanding that every possible means was used for their destruction. At length, they disappeared, but in what manner, none could tell. The colonists related one astonishing circumstance as a fact: during this plague of rats, a number of ravens were observed in the islands. The birds departed when these destroying animals disappeared, and neither was ever seen again (b).

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(b) The particulars relative to the establishment of the first colony in the Bermudas* are taken from Smith's general history of Virginia, p. 174.—Harris's Coll Part 1. p. 848.—Introduction to a Coll. of voyages, 6 Vol. in folio, p. 56.—British empire in America, V. 2. p. 362.—and Lediard's naval History, V. 2. folio, p. 430, 431, 432.

* The Bermudas are a cluster of small islands, amounting to at least five hundred. Some are larger than others; and all are situated within the circuit of six, or seven leagues. They lie in about thirty-two degrees of north latitude, and are distant some hundred leagues from any land. Cape Hatterask, in Carolina, is the nearest. From England, they are distant sixteen hundred leagues.—Lediard.

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twelve, the East-India company fitted out two ships, the Dragon, and the Oslander, and gave the command of them to captain Thomas Best (c). On the fifth of February, he departed from Gravesend, and, after a prosperous passage, arrived, on the eighth of the month of June following, at the Cape of Good Hope, where he went ashore, and, as many of the crew were sick, caused tents to be pitched, for their reception.

On the twenty-eighth of June, they departed from the bay of Soldania, and proceeded on their course, with favourable wind, and weather, until the thirteenth of August, when they crossed the Equinoctial Line.

On the fourth of September, they arrived within four leagues of the bar of Surat, and, on the thirteenth, sailed up to the city, where they were courteously received by the governour and the chief inhabitants.

Here, they remained, engaged in commerce, until the twenty-ninth of November, when they descried a Portuguese fleet, amounting to two hundred, and forty sail, in the service of the merchants, and bound for Cambaya. They were, next, alarmed by a letter, which informed them that another Portuguese fleet was on the passage for the purpose of expelling them from those seas, notwithstanding that they had obtained, from the Great Mogul, the privilege of establishing a trade, and erecting factories, in the cities of Surat, Cambaya, Amadavar, or any other part, or parts of that country, within his dominions (d). On the tenth of November, four Portuguese galleons, and twenty-four frigates, came in sight of the Dragon, and the Osian-

(c) Two vessels, the James, and Solomon, were also equipped by the East-India Company for other voyages.

(d) A copy of the treaty is in Harris's Collection.

Osiander. Captain Best, immediately weighed anchor, and encouraged his men not to dread adversaries, howsoever superior they might be in force, but to convince them that the English were too intrepid, and experienced in the art of war, to be vanquished in a moment. He then directed his course towards the admiral, and vice-admiral ships, firing one shot as he approached. He next, passed between them, and poured into each a broad-side, attended by a volley of small arms, which occasioned them to sheer off, nor did they venture, during the remainder of the day, to approach the Dragon. The night now advanced, and as the long-boat of this last ship had been sunk by a cannon-ball, captain Best judged it necessary to cast anchor. The remainder of the Portuguese fleet was not yet come up, neither had the Osiander an opportunity of engaging, during the whole day. The captain, officers, and mariners belonging to this last vessel, acquired, by their intrepidity, and good conduct, a share of honour, in the battle on the ensuing morning, which fully indemnified them for the loss of it, when the Dragon only was in action. For the space of three hours, the contest was maintained with equal fury by the English, and the Portuguese. At length, three galleons, in the service of the enemy, were driven on the sands, when the Osiander, drawing but little water, approached, and kept up a continual fire, which proved fatal to numbers of the Portuguese. In the afternoon, the galleons, assisted by the frigates, and availing themselves likewise of the flood-tides, stood out farther from the shore, and furiously renewed the fight. Such, however, was the superiority preserved by the gallant, and well-directed exertion of the crews belonging to the Dragon, and the Osiander, that, during four hours, the adverse fleet was not only much disa-

disabled, but incapable of gaining the least material advantage.

As the night was now advanced, every vessel came to an anchor, and no attempts were made for the renewal of hostilities. In two days, after this event, captain Best and his associates sailed over to the other side of the bay, and cast anchor at a short distance from the spot where Sardar Chaune, a noble chief of the Moguls, at the head of two thousand horse, was besieging a castle, belonging to a people who, previous to the conquest of Guyferat, were the capital lords of that country, but, at this period, subsisted by committing depredations on travellers. Sardar Chaune gave a courteous reception to the English, and presented captain Best, with a valuable horse, and splendid furniture.

On the twenty-second of September, and when the English had remained at this place, nearly ten days, engaged in trade with several of the inhabitants, the Portuguese galleons, and frigates, reinforced with men, and ammunition, advanced towards them. Sardar Chaune, notwithstanding that he had been informed of the brave resistance made, during the last action, by the English, yet, considering the superiour force of their adversaries advised Best, and his associates, instantly to make sail, and, standing out to sea, avoid an action which, if begun, could end only in their defeat. He was answered by these intrepid seamen that unless Heaven was against them, the Portuguese would rue the moment in which they ventured to attack them. Soon afterwards the English weighed anchor, and began so furious an engagement that their adversaries closed an ineffectual resistance of four hours, by crowding every sail, and retreating with the greatest precipitation, and disorder. The English
now

now pursued, nor gave up the chase until the Portuguese were out of sight. Returning, they cast anchor amidst the acclamations of multitudes of the inhabitants, who extolled and wondered at their resolution.

When Sardar Chaune had reduced the castle, and made the rebels prisoners, he repaired to the court of the Great Mogul, to whom he related the particulars of this remarkable naval fight. That prince grew loud in his commendations of the bravery of the English, and he was the more surprized at the brilliancy of their successes, because he had hitherto supposed that no nation was so formidable, on the ocean, as the Portuguese.

On the twenty-seventh of December, the Dragon, and the Osiander returned, and entered the port of Swally, having lost in the actions with the Portuguese, only three mariners. But one person, likewise, who had the misfortune to lose his arm, was wounded. The enemy, as the English were afterwards informed, had one hundred, and sixty men slain.

In April, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirteen, captain Best, and his associates, arrived, with their ships, at Achen, where he obtained a Ratification of the treaty which had formerly been made in the presence of captain Lancaster, between the English, and the sovereign of that place (e). When these

(e) The prince particularly intreated captain Best to apply to James, the first, for his permission, that two of the fairest women within his kingdom should make a voyage to Achen. "If (added he,) either of them should bring me a son, he shall be the sovereign of Priaman, and of the whole country from which you procure pepper. Thus, you shall not need to visit me, but may apply, for this commodity, to an English king."

these matters were adjusted, the Dragon, and the Oslander, prepared for sailing, and in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fourteen, returned to England (*f*).

We now turn back to a brief relation of a voyage undertaken at the expence of several merchant-adventurers, amongst whom were Sir George Lancaster, Sir Thomas Smith, and Mr. James Hall. The latter, who was instructed to attempt the discovery of a North-West passage, went as chief commander of the vessels equipped, on the occasion. These were the *Patience*, of the burthen of one hundred, and forty tons, and having on board forty men, and boys; the *Heart's Ease*, of the burthen of sixty tons, her crew amounting to twenty men, and boys. On the twenty-second of May, they departed from the Humber, and when, at his arrival among the Indians, the commander disembarked, he was overpowered by these savages, and barbarously massacred. By this calamitous event, the purpose of the voyage was intirely frustrated (*g*).

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(*f*) The particulars relating to this voyage to the East-Indies are taken from Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 137.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 466—482.—MS. Journal of Nicholas Withington, Factor, during the voyage.—Ledard's naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 432; 433.

(*g*) The farther, but uninteresting particulars relative to this expedition, may be found in the collection of voyages, V. 6. p. 245, where is a Journal, written by John Gatonbe, quarter-master of one of the ships—and in Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 831. where is another Journal that had been kept by William Baffin.

At this period, also, the Muscovy-Company sent to their Greenland fishery two ships, the crews of which caught seventeen Whales. It was now that the Dutch, and Spaniards, employing Englishmen who had basely deserted the service of their own country, sent their first vessel to this Fishery.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 466.

It is now necessary that we should return to the affairs of Virginia, and inform the reader that the arrival of the lord Delaware, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and ten, had greatly contributed to at least a partial restoration of the prosperity of the colony, and that all circumstances tended to the establishment of unanimity. On the tenth of June, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eleven, Sir Thomas Dale, who had been appointed marshal-general, arrived at Virginia, with three ships, which brought supplies of men, cattle, and hogs. Observing that the colonists had been shamefully inattentive to the culture of corn, and relied intirely on their stores, which then contained provisions for only three months, he persuaded them to sow that valuable grain, and, notwithstanding that the ground was unprepared for its reception, until the middle of the month of May, the crops arising from it were tolerably abundant. It was from the indefatigable, and well-directed exertion of the peculiar abilities of this illustrious adventurer, that the felicity of the plantation acquired a degree of permanency, which became strengthened by the erection of a new town, called Dale's Gift, at his own expence.

In the month of August, in the same year, Sir Thomas Gates, arrived at James-Town, with six ships, on board of which were a large supply of hogs, an hundred head of cattle, a great quantity of fowls, together with ammunition, cloathing, tools, implements of husbandry, and all articles particularly necessary for the advancement of a colony in its infant state. At this period, the adventurers having been reinforced by three hundred, and fifty chosen men, settled in a new town, at Arrahatuck, nearly fifty miles above James-Town, paling in the neck more than

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two miles from the point, and from one extremity of the river to the other. Here, they constructed forts, fixed sentry-boxes, and, in honour of Henry, Prince of Wales, named the whole place, Henricopolis. Whilst matters proceeded in this successful train, the mother-country liberally, and affectionately interfered. Such large, and general supplies, were sent from England, and so wisely were they employed, that the lands became fertile from assiduous cultivation, the colonies were considerably extended, private individuals possessed plantations; and churches were erected, schools founded, and preachers beneficed, in consequence of the large pecuniary collections which had been made for these salutary purposes in England.

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twelve, more supplies arrived, in two vessels. When captain Argal, the commander of one of these, proceeded to Potowmeck, in order to purchase Corn, he obtained an interview with Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, the sovereign of the country. Having prevailed on this princess to go on board (*h*), and partake of an entertainment, he detained her a prisoner, and conveyed her to James-Town, in hopes that her father would cheerfully purchase her liberty, at the price of peace with the English. The king, incensed at this act of treachery, declared that not even the violence of his affection for his daughter, whom he so eagerly wished to have restored, should induce him to accede to any terms with men whom he now doubly considered in the light of adversaries, and threatened that his whole life should be employed in perpetual hosti-

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(*h*) It is affirmed that she was betrayed on board by her uncle, who sold her for a copper tea-kettle.—Smith's general history of Virginia.

lities against the English. At the expiration of two years from this event, a marriage was proposed between Mr. John Rolfe, a colonist, and the princess. Her father, who considered this offer as one of the truest tests of friendship, consented to it without reluctance, and, although he would not honour the wedding with his presence, expressed his warmest wishes for the termination of the war.

The celebration of the nuptials of Rolfe, and Pocahontas (i), was attended with the conclusion of peace between the colonists, and Powhatan. The English, and the Indians now imagined that their situation was intirely secure; and the former, although neither inwardly loved, nor respected, by the Chickahomines, a neighbouring tribe, received the homage of that people, who had been brought under an absolute subjection to Powhatan, and frequently experienced the terrible effects of his tyrannical disposition (k).

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twelve, a ship, called the Solomon, sailed from England, on a voyage undertaken for the benefit of the East-India company. As but few of the occurrences which arose during the passage, are deserving of attention, let it be sufficient if we inform the reader, that, on the twenty-seventh of April, the crew discovered an island, hitherto unknown to them, and situated in the southern latitude of nineteen degrees, and thirty-four minutes; and that to the eastward of this, they observed the islands of Santa Maria d'Agosta, and of Martin Vaz; and that, on the twenty-seventh of March, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirteen, they

(i) A. D. 1613.

(k) Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 109.—British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 229.—Lediard's naval Hist. Folio. V. 2. p. 434. 435.

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they saw another island, which, likewise, was unknown to them (*l*).

At the commencement of the month of January, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirteen, a ship, named the Expedition, and of the burthen of two hundred, and sixty tons, set sail, under the command of captain Christopher Newport, from Gravesend. On board, were Sir Robert Shirley, the ambassador to Persia, and Sir Thomas Powell, with a magnificent retinue, all of whom were to disembark on the coast of that country. Few remarkable events occurred during the course of this voyage; and, perhaps, the only extraordinary circumstance was a short, but violent contention with the Baluches, a people tributary to the Persians, and who had formed a conspiracy to seize on the effects, and person of the ambassador. The English, forewarned of this design, proved too powerful for their adversaries. Soon afterwards, they set sail, and, on the tenth of July, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fourteen, returned to England, and anchored in the Downs (*m*).

At this period, the Muscovy company, having obtained from the King, a patent under the broad seal, which forbade foreigners, and all others not included in it, to frequent the coast of Greenland, equipped seven vessels, and directed the commanders of them to repair to those parts for the purpose of carrying on the fishery. At their arrival, they found nineteen sail of ships. Of these, four were English, and unlicensed; two Dutch, and the rest French, Spanish, and Flemish.

E e 2 After

(*l*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 188.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 140.—Lediard's naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 435.

(*m*) Ibid.

After a long, and violent opposition, they drove these invaders from the coast; but previous to this success, the time prescribed for the duration of their voyage was almost elapsed. They, notwithstanding, caught sixteen whales, and obliged the foreigners to procure more for them. They also discovered Hope Island, and other islands to the Eastward (n).

We next proceed to a relation of the most material occurrences during the first voyage, of which the expence was defrayed with a part of the united stock of the East-India company (s). The fleet equipped on this occasion consisted of four ships; the New-Year's Gift, admiral, of the burthen of six hundred, and fifty tons, and commanded by Nicholas Downton; the Hector, vice-admiral, of the burthen of five hundred tons; the Merchant's Hope, of the burthen of three hundred tons, and the Solomon, of the burthen of two hundred tons.

At the commencement of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fourteen, Downton sailed with this naval armament from England, and, in the month of October, arrived at Surat, where, as the Indians had declared open war against the Portuguese, he found himself reduced to the painful Alternative of either bearing a share in it, or relinquishing all hopes of trading with the natives. On the eighteenth of January, in the year,

(n) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 466.—713—716.—Le diard's naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 435, 436.

(s) Harris styles it the first East-India voyage set forth by the united Stocks of the East-India Company; and adds; "Note that now the order of reckoning the voyages is altered: those that are remaining being not set forth by particular ships, stocks, or Factories; but, by a joint stock, in which the whole company was concerned; so that we call this the first voyage upon the joint stock."

year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifteen, the Portuguese vice-roy came in sight with his fleet, and, towards the evening, the English discovered that it consisted of six galleons, three ships, two gallies, and sixty frigates. Notwithstanding the vast superiority of this force, Downton, and his brave associates, prepared for an attack. In the moment that the signal was made, the Merchant's Hope bore down alone upon the enemy, and was at once opposed by three ships, two gallies, and nearly all the frigates, to the assistance of which the galleons were hastening with crouded sails. The Portuguese boarded the Merchant's Hope; but, no sooner did they perceive that the other three English ships were advancing to engage than, with a pusillanimity which is scarcely to be credited, they leaped into the ocean, whilst their whole fleet bore away from the scene of action. Multitudes of the Portuguese perished amidst the waves; and several, amongst whom were the chief officers, lost their lives in their encounter on board the Hope.

The Portuguese mortified by the consequences of an action which had proved so inglorious to themselves, and anxious to be revenged of adversaries against whom superior numbers were hitherto of no avail, sent for a considerable reinforcement to their naval armaments; yet, on their arrival, could not raise up a spark of resolution, but, with their wonted pusillanimity, avoided coming to a close engagement, and only turned adrift some fire-ships, in order that they might fall foul of, and destroy the vessels of the English. Unsuccessful in his designs, the vice-roy made a signal for his whole fleet to avoid an action, and get under sail; and, soon afterwards, every ship was out of sight. In the accounts which the English received from Damon, it was observed that the dead bo-

dies of three hundred and fifty of the Portuguese, who had been slain in the engagement, had been carried to that place for interment; and, it appeared, also, from a moderate computation, that not less than an hundred more (exclusive of those who had been drowned,) were either killed, or burnt in the ships. When the commercial negotiations of the English were concluded, they set sail from Surat, and, on the third of March, a period not far distant from their departure, observed that they were pursued by another fleet of Portuguese men of war. They suffered themselves to be chased, during some time, and then lay to, and prepared for battle. In the moment that their adversaries became sensible of their resolution, they basely sheered off, and with a degree of cowardice, which scarcely can be paralleled, left the sea open to a naval force so much inferior to their own, that it consisted but of one ship, to ten (p). The English proceeded, in triumph, on their course.

In

(p) The following is a list of the Portuguese fleet, from the papers of Domingo Francisco, who was taken prisoner in Swally-Road.

S H I P S.

NAMES.	BRUTHER.	GUNS.	MEN.
Saint Peter	200 tons	8	150
Pinnace	120 tons	4	80
Saint Paul	200 tons	8	150

G A L L E O N S.

All Saints	800 tons	28	300
Saint Bennet	700 tons	20	150
Saint Lawrence	600 tons	18	160
Saint Christopher	600 tons	18	159
Saint Jeronimo	500 tons	16	180
Saint Antonio	400 tons	14	140
There			

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In June, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifteen, and when the Merchant's Hope had sailed for England, the Hector, and the Solomon arrived at Bantam (g), where they procured spice, and a quantity of silk sufficient for the full lading of the Solomon, now bound for Masulipatan. When the merchants who were on board arrived at this place, they were informed that the English factors, dwelling at Macassar, had suffered greatly from the violent persecutions of the Dutch. We have now presented the reader with a detail of the most material occurrences of this voyage, and need only add that the Hector, and the Solomon, having completed their cargoes, departed from Bantam, and, in October of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and sixteen, returned to England (r).

Notwithstanding the violent opposition to which the subjects of James had been exposed in New-England, during the year one thousand, six hundred, and eleven, it was judged expedient once more to attempt the establishment of that peace, and commerce, from which an unfortunate concurrence of events had hitherto excluded them. Accordingly, two vessels were equipped at the expence of the captains Roydon, and Langham, Mr. Bully, and Mr. Skelton. These sailed, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirteen, under the command of captain Smith, who had been president of the Southern colony, in Virginia. On

E e 4

There were also two galleys, the companies of which amounted to one hundred men; sixty frigates, carrying thirty-six oars, and having on board twenty soldiers; two Indian ships, each of the burthen of two hundred tons; two junks; and eight fire ships.

(g) Here it was that the gallant captain Downton died.

(r) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 500.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 143.—Lediard's naval Hist. V. 2. Folio. p. 436, 437.

his arrival at New-England, this celebrated adventurer traded with the inhabitants, and, attended by only eight men, ranged the coast, and surveyed, and took a plan of the adjoining country. Whilst he was on shore, the natives gave him in Exchange for European articles of trifling value, ten thousand beaver-skins, one hundred Martens, and the same number of otters. Having availed himself of every favourable opportunity to engage in commerce, he returned to England, with the smallest of his vessels, leaving directions that the other should proceed to Malaga, where her cargo of dried fish was afterwards purchased by the Spaniards.

On this expedition, Smith was engaged during the space of six months, and cleared almost fifteen hundred pounds, in consequence of the sale of the otter, and beavers-skins, of salt-fish, train-oil, and other commodities. The merchant-adventurers who employed him were not only sufficiently indemnified for their expences, but reaped great emoluments from the produce of their shares in the cargoes of the two vessels (s).

At this period the Muscovy company sent thirteen large ships, and two pinnaces, not only for the purpose of employing the crew in the fisheries, at Greenland, but, in order that they might oppose the Dutch in an attempt to rob them of a part of this advantageous branch of commerce. This fleet proved too feeble for an opposition; and eighteen sail of large vessels, four of which were men of war, mounting thirty

(s) Smith presented to the court of managers of the north Virginia company, his draught of the country, and had it called New-England.—Smith's general history of Virginia, p. 204.—British empire in America, V. 1. p. 27.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 437.

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thirty guns, and all in the service of the Dutch, were consequently suffered to fish, unresisted, on the coast. One of the ships belonging to the English company, in which were employed Thomas Sherwin, and William Baffin, proceeded to the northward of Greenland, as far as eighty degrees, and some minutes (*t*).

The historians of the naval transactions during the years, one thousand, six hundred, and fourteen; and one thousand, six hundred, and fifteen, observe that two voyages were made, at the expence of the Muscovy Company, by Robert Fotherby, for the purpose of discovering seas, lands, and islands to the northwards. We present the reader, nearly in the words of the commander, with an account of the sole memorable event which arose during the course of this expedition.

" In the month of June, and in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fourteen, I went, with the
" shallop, into Maudlin Sound, there to set up the
" arms of king James, and, under it, a piece of
" sheet-lead, with the mark of the Muscovy company, of the day of the month, and of the year.
" Then, cutting up a piece of earth, I carried it on
" board, and in the presence of the men, spoke to
" this effect :"

" I take this piece of earth, as the sign of lawful
" Possession of king James's New-land, and of this
" particular place, which I name Trinity Harbour, taken on behalf of the company of merchants, called
" the merchants of new trades, and discoveries, for,
" the use of our sovereign lord, James, by the grace
" of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland,
" whose

(*t*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 466—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 437.

" whose royal arms are here set up, to the end that all
 " people who shall here arrive, may take notice of
 " his majesty's right, and title to this country, and
 " to every part thereof. God save King James !"

It doth not appear that Fotherby commanded any ship, during the first voyage. He, probably, was an officer of the *Thomasine*, one of the ships belonging to the Greenland fleet. When he proceeded on the second voyage, he had been appointed to the command of a pinnace, of the burthen of twenty tons, called the *Richard*, of London (u).

At the commencement of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifteen, the East-India company, defraying the expences out of the joint stock, equipped two vessels; the Expedition, under the command of captain Peyton, together with the *Dragon*, *Lion*, and *Pepper-Corn*, under the command of captain Keeling: with these officers, went Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from James, to the Great Mogul. The only particular relative to this voyage which can merit the attention of the reader is the establishment of a factory, at Crangador, pursuant to an agreement made by captain Keeling, with the Great Samorian, or King of Callicur, who invested the English with several privileges which greatly contributed to the freedom of their commerce (x).

At this Period, also, four ships, on board of which were crews who had sailed with captain Smith, and thoroughly understood the business of navigating vessels to those parts, were fitted out at the expence of the
 the

(u) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 590.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 720.—Lediard's naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 437.

(x) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 149.—Purchas, V. 1. p. 603.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 539.

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the Virginia company, and proceeded to New-England. At the expiration of six months, they returned with a full cargo of fish, train-oil, and furs (y).

It was in this year, also, that captain Smith departed on his second expedition to New-England, with two ships, the larger of which sprung her masts, during the violence of a storm, and was obliged to return to Plymouth, whilst the smallest vessel pursued her course, and, after a prosperous voyage, came back to England. Still anxious to set sail, Smith, attended by thirty men, procured a bark, of the burthen of sixty tons, but was scarcely out at sea, when he was intercepted, and taken by nine French Pirates, who conveyed him to France (z); but his associates escaped in their own vessel. His detention did not hinder one of the four ships, which was designed for him, from proceeding on the voyage; and she, afterwards, returned valuably freighted to the port of London (a).

At

(y) Smith lamented that he was so unfortunate as not to have undertaken this voyage, and imputes the disappointment to his mistaken conduct, at Plymouth, where, when he arrived from his last expedition, he engaged with persons who deceived him, notwithstanding that, on their account, he had refused his service to the merchants of the port of London.

(z) Yet, from his own relation, it appears that he was not carried a prisoner thither; but, after having been concerned with them in several adventures, during the whole summer, he availed himself, near Rochelle, of an opportunity to escape, and, alone, entered a boat, in which he endured a violent tempest, at a time when many vessels were cast away. He had the good fortune to reach the shore, in safety.

(a) Smith's general history of Virginia, p. 205.—221.—Harris's coll. Part 1. p. 851.—British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 28.—Lediard's naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 439.

At this æra, the Muscovy company, whose whole force, at Greenland, consisted of two ships, and two pinnaces, felt themselves reduced to the necessity of submitting patiently to the superior power of the Dutch, who had sent to the fishery fourteen large vessels, three of which were men of war, and prepared in all respects for opposition (b).

It was, likewise at this period, that the Danes, under the conduct of an Englishman who had deserted the service of his country, made their first voyage to Greenland, and immediately on their arrival, with three men of war, had the insolence to demand from the English a toll for what they termed the liberty of fishing. The latter peremptorily refused to comply with an order which was at once so unwarrantable, and absurd, and the Danes departed peaceably, without having made the least attempt to force them to obedience.

In the course of this year, the English also endeavoured once more to discover a north-west passage. As few remarkable events arose during the voyage, let it suffice if we inform the reader that it was unsuccessful (c).

We now proceed to the relation of a memorable engagement, and shall insert it nearly in the words of a gallant seaman (d), who signalized himself on the occasion.

“ Hav-

(b) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 466.—Lediard's Naval History, folio, V. 2. p. 439.

(c) Ibid. p. 836.—Ibid. 439.

(d) The Extract is taken from a pamphlet, published in the year one thousand, six hundred, and seventeen, under the inspection of the master, by an officer belonging to the Dolphin. In the works of Taylor, the water-poet, this

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“ Having finished our business, at Zant, we departed thence, towards the latter end of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and sixteen, being bound, with our loading, for England. Our ship, named the Dolphin, from London, was of the burthen of two hundred, and twenty tons (e), having in her about nineteen pieces of cast ordnance, and five murtherers (f), and being manned with thirty-six men, and two boys. Her master was Mr. Edward Nichols, a man of great skill, courage, industry, and proved experience, who making for England, we got clear of the island, on the first of January, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and seventeen. The wind being north and by east, a prosperous gale, by the eighth, in the morning, we had a sight of the island of Sardinia.”

“ The wind being then come westerly, on the ninth, in the morning, we stood in for Callery; and, at noon, the wind being southerly, we sailed close by two little watch-towers, from whence two shot were fired at us, to give warning, that they would speak to us; but the approaching night prevented them. If we could have sent ashore to them, their intention was, as we heard afterwards, to have informed us of the Turkish men of war, which we afterwards met withal, to our cost, and peril, as well as theirs, for these towers were not above two leagues from the place where we made our fight. This night, the wind growing calm, we sailed towards Cape Pola. On the tenth,
“ we

this performance (if we except some particular passages,) appears to have been copied, verbatim.

(e) In Taylor's work, the burthen mentioned is two hundred, and eighty tons.

(f) According to Taylor, nine.

“ we had very little wind, or none at all, until it was
“ two of the clock in the afternoon, which drove us
“ above three leagues eastward from the Cape. Here
“ we espied a fleet of ships upon the main of Sardinia,
“ near unto the road called Gallery, belonging to the
“ king of Spain.”

“ On the twelfth of January, during the morning
“ watch, about four o'clock, we had a sight of a
“ sail, making from the shore, towards us, which put
“ into our minds some doubt, and fear, and, as she
“ came near unto us, we discovered her to be a *sattie*,
“ which is a ship much like unto an *argosy*, of a very
“ great burthen, and bigness. She stood in, to get be-
“ tween the shore, and us, which perceiving, we ima-
“ gined some more ships not to be far off, whereupon
“ our master sent one of our company up into the
“ main-top, who discovered five sail of ships, one
“ after another, coming up before the wind, which
“ was then at west-south-west. With his perspective-
“ glass, he perceived them to be Turkish men of
“ war, the first of them booming by himself, be-
“ fore the wind, with his flag in the main-top, and
“ all his sails gallantly spread abroad. After him,
“ came the admiral, and the vice-admiral, of greater
“ burthen than the first, and after him two more,
“ the rear-admiral, larger than all the rest, and his
“ companion.”

“ They seemed all prepared for any desperate as-
“ sault, whereupon we immediately made ready our
“ ordnance, and small shot, and with no little resolu-
“ tion prepared ourselves to withstand them. This
“ being done, we went to prayers, and then to din-
“ ner, where our master gave us such noble encou-
“ ragement, that our hearts even thirsted to prove the
“ success, and being in readiness for the fight, our
“ master

"master went upon the poop, and spake to us in the
"following manner."

"Countrymen! and Fellows! You see into what
"an exigency it hath pleased God to suffer us to fall:
"let us remember that we are but men, and must, of
"necessity, die. When, where, and how, is alone in
"the knowledge, and appointment of God; but if it
"be his pleasure, that this must be the last of our
"days, his will be done, and let us for his glory,
"our soul's welfare, our country's honour, and the
"credit of ourselves, fight valiantly to the last gasp.
"Let us prefer a noble death before a slavish life;
"and if we die, let us die to gain a better life. For
"my part I will see, if we escape this danger, that,
"if any be hurt, and maimed in the fight, they shall
"be carefully provided for, for their health and
"maintenance, as long as they live. Be, therefore,
"resolute; stand to it; here is no shrinking. We
"must be either men, or slaves. Die with me, or,
"if you will not, by the grace of God, I will die
"with you."

"This done, he waved his sword, three times,
"shaking it with such dauntless courage, as if he had
"already won the victory. Hereupon, we seconded
"him with like forwardness, and he causing his
"trumpets to sound, gave unto us much more encour-
"agement than before, and being within shot of
"them, our master commanded his gunner to make
"his level, and to shoot, which he did, but missed
"them all. At this, the foremost of them bore up
"apace, for he had the wind of us, and returned us
"worse than we sent; for, their first shot killed one
"of our men."

"Then ensued, for a great space, a most fierce en-
"counter betwixt us, and they having the advantage
"of

" of us, by reason of the wind, by about eleven, or
 " twelve o'clock, they had torn our ship in such a
 " manner, that we used our guns clear of the ports,
 " they having left us no ports on the quarters, but
 " all open. We were, however, not in their debt,
 " for, we had not left them one man alive from
 " their main-mast forward. Besides, we dismounted
 " their ordnance, and tore them so near the water,
 " that their chief commanders were forced, with their
 " cutlasses, to beat their own men, and to drive them
 " to their duty. By this time, they laid us aboard,
 " with one of their ships, which was the burthen of
 " two hundred tons (g), or thereabouts, and had in
 " her twenty-five pieces of ordnance (h), and about
 " two hundred and fifty men. The captain thereof
 " was one Walsingham, who seemed, by his name,
 " to be, as we afterwards found that he was, an English-
 " man, and admiral of the fleet; for so it signified by
 " the flag in his main-top. Having, as I said, board-
 " ed our ship, he entered on the larboard-quarter,
 " his men armed, some with sabres, which we called
 " faulchions, some with hatchets, and some with half
 " pikes, where they stayed half an hour, or thereabouts,
 " tearing up our nail-boards upon the poop, and the
 " trap-hatch; but we having a murtherer in the
 " round-house, kept the larboard side clear, whilst
 " our men, with the other ordnance, and musquets,
 " and a murtherer in our trap-hatch, played upon their
 " ship; yet, for all this, they plied our gallery with
 " small shot, in such sort, that we stood in great dan-
 " ger to yield."

" At the last, we shot them quite through and
 " through, and they us, likewise; but they, being
 " afraid

(g) Or, according to Taylor, three hundred.

(h) Or thirty-five. Taylor.

" afraid that they should have been sunk by us, bore
 " ahead of our ship; and, as they passed along, we
 " gave them a broad-side, so that they were forced to
 " lay by the lee, and to stop their leaks. This fight
 " continued during more than two hours, by our
 " glass, and so near the shore, that the dwellers there-
 " upon saw all the beginning, and the ending, and
 " what danger we stood in; for, on the shore was
 " a little house, wherein was likewise turned a glass,
 " all the time, during the fight, which measured
 " the hours as they passed; and this was Walsingham's
 " part of the fight."

" The next engagement was with captain Kelley's
 " ship, which came likewise up with his flag, in the
 " main-top, and another ship, with his flag in the
 " fore-top, each of which ships were at least of the
 " burthen of three hundred tons, and mounted twen-
 " ty-eight, or thirty pieces of ordnance (*i*), having
 " also on board nearly two hundred, and fifty men.
 " They laid us aboard, one on the starboard-quarter,
 " and the other on the larboard, where entering our
 " ship, in multitudes, with their scimitars, hatchets,
 " half-pikes, and other weapons, they put us in great
 " danger, both of the loss of our ship, and of our
 " lives; for they exerted much manhood, and ran
 " many perilous hazards. Of these, was an instance
 " in one of their company, who desperately went up
 " into our main-top, to fetch down our flag, which
 " being espied by the steward of our ship, he present-
 " ly shot with his musket, in so unerring a direction
 " that he fell upon our deck, and was shortly after-
 " wards, cast into the sea, leaving the flag behind him."

" Thus, these men fought with us, with great re-
 " solution, playing upon us with their ordnance, and
 Vol. III. F f " small

(i) Twenty-five.—Taylor.

“small shot, for the space of an hour, and a half, of
 “whom we received some hurt, and likewise they
 “of us; but when they saw that they could not pre-
 “vail, nor any way make us to yield, they bore up,
 “and passed from us, to lay their ships by the lee, to
 “stop their leaks, for, we had grievously torn, and
 “battered them, with our great ordnance; and this
 “was the second attempt which they made upon us.”

“Now, for the third. There came two more of
 “captain Kelley’s ships, each of the burthen of two
 “hundred, and fifty tons, mounting twenty-two
 “pieces of ordnance, and having on board, at the
 “least, two hundred men, all well provided as might
 “be, which was (as we thought,) too great a num-
 “ber for us, being so few in our ship; but GOD, that
 “was our friend, gave us such strength, and success,
 “that they little prevailed against us; for at their first
 “coming up, notwithstanding all their multitude of
 “men, we shot one of their ships quite through, and
 “through, and laid her, likewise, by the lee, as we
 “had done the others before. But the other ship (A)
 “remaining, laid us aboard on the starboard side,
 “and, in that quarter, they entered our ship, with
 “their scimitars, fauchions, half-pikes, and other
 “weapons, running to, and fro upon the deck, cry-
 “ing still in the Turkish tongue, Yield yourselves!
 “Yield yourselves! promising that we should be well
 “used, and have one third part of our goods deliver-
 “ed back.”

“One of our company now told the master of the
 “large offer which the Turks had made, and advised
 “him

(A) This was probably, the rear-admiral, which was
 larger than all the rest, and of the burthen of five hundred
 tons, and having on board six hundred, and fifty men.

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" him to yield; but the master replied: Away! vil-
 " lain! I will never give them either part, or quarter,
 " whilst I have any quarters to my body. Whereupon,
 " he, lending no ear to them, stood bravely in our
 " defence, chusing rather to die, than to yield, as it
 " is still the nature, and condition of all Englishmen;
 " and, being thus resolved, some of our men played
 " our ordnance against them, whilst others fired
 " small shot; some fought with different weapons,
 " as swords, and half pikes, and such like. In the
 " midst of this skirmish, it so happened, by ill
 " chance, that our ship was set on fire (1), and in
 " great danger to be lost, and cast away, had not the
 " LORD, in his mercy, preserved us, and sent us
 " means happily to quench it; but, now, mark the
 " accident! The fire being perceived by our ene-
 " mies to burn outrageously, and the Turks thinking that
 " our ship would have been suddenly consumed, to the
 " water's edge, left us to our fortunes, falling astern
 " from us, and so we put to the shore, under the lit-
 " tle house, for some succour. Here, we let an an-
 " chor fall, thinking to ride there all night; which we
 " had no sooner done, but we saw another ship bear
 " down upon us, whereupon we were sore frightened, and
 " so forced to let our anchor slip, and set sail, to get
 " better succour, the enemy, at the same time, be-
 " ing weary of our company, and hoisting out their
 " boats, to stop their leaks. We, for our parts, put
 " into the road, between the two little forts, where
 " we lay five days, mending the bruises, and leaks
 " of our ship. The loss which we received in the

F f 2

" afore-

(1) In one account, it is observed to have been set on fire, purposely, by the enemy, with fire-balls, and in three places, at once.

“aforesaid fights, was that of six men, and one boy,
 “who were killed outright, and there were hurt, eight
 “men and one boy more; but it is not known what
 “damage we put them to, and what number we
 “slew in their ships.”

“The master of our ship being at the helm, was
 “shot twice betwixt the legs; and, as the surgeon
 “was dressing the wounds of one of our men, a ball
 “of wild-fire fell into his basin, which he suddenly
 “cast into the sea (*m*), otherwise it had greatly endan-
 “gered us. The Turks were aboard, and sounded
 “their trumpets, notwithstanding which, our men
 “assaulted them so fiercely, that they forced them
 “off, and the boatswain, (seeing them flee,) most un-
 “dauntedly, with a whistle, dared them to the skir-
 “mish, if so they durst. The captains of three of
 “their ships were Englishmen, who took part with the
 “Turks, thus to rob and spoil upon the ocean; and
 “their names were Walsingham, Kelley, and Sampson.”

“Upon the thirteenth of January, there came aboard
 “certain Spaniards, in the morning betimes, to wit-
 “ness what hurts we had received, who seeing that
 “some of our men were dead, went ashore with us,
 “and shewed us where we might bury them; but,
 “as we were busy in making their graves, and co-
 “vering the bodies with earth, there came sailing by
 “a Flemish ship of the burthen of two hundred, and
 “forty tons, and laden with nearly six thousand
 “pounds. She had been chased by those men of war,
 “that had fought with us before, and therefore, the
 “crew

(*m*) In one account, the words are, “He, thinking to
 “cast it overboard, it fell upon the deck, upon which, he
 “resolutely, fell upon it himself, and smothered it with his
 “body.”

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 453

“ crew brought, in a long-boat, all the money, to the
“ shore, and left, in the ship, only a few men, and
“ boys, who afterwards, within two days, brought
“ the said ship into the road, not any thing at all en-
“ dangered.”

“ On the fifteenth of the same month, when we
“ came from the interment of our men, and had
“ rested ourselves in our ship, about two hours, the
“ wind began to blow a strong gale, and by little,
“ and little, grew to a terrible tempest, through which,
“ from Sunday-night, until Friday in the evening,
“ we were in such extremity of weather, as rain,
“ wind, lightening, and thunder, that we thought we
“ should never have gotten clear from the road where
“ we lay. During this storm, and tempest, there
“ died one of our men, that had been hurt in the
“ fight, whose body we cast overboard, into the sea,
“ without any other burial, and so, when the wind,
“ and ocean were a little calmed, we set up sail, and
“ came forward. Within three days afterwards,
“ we buried three men more in the sea; and in the
“ afternoon, we arrived at the road of Callery, and
“ lay at anchor, where, again searching our ship, we
“ found it rent, and torn in four several places; one in
“ the gun room, another between the decks, the
“ third in the steerage, and the fourth in the master’s
“ round-house. At Callery, we repaired our ship,
“ and hired certain men there to help us to stop her
“ leaks. Having all things most fitting for our
“ voyage homewards, upon the thirtieth of January,
“ we committed our fortune again unto the sea,
“ and so, leaving Callery, we came forward with a
“ Frenchman, who was bound to a place called Orasone,
“ about thirty leagues from Callery, where, after the
“ expiration of two days, we left his company, be-

"ing the first of February, and, then, putting forward, till towards England, we arrived safe in the "Thames."

Notwithstanding that the public still bore in remembrance those calamities which had marked some enterprizes of captain Smith, yet his success in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirteen, together with the equal good fortune of other adventurers, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fourteen, and one thousand, six hundred, and fifteen, had impressed the merchants with so favourable an opinion of the advantages which might result from a commercial intercourse with New-England, that four ships were sent thither from the port of London, and the like number from Plymouth. During the passage few remarkable events occurred; and we need only inform the reader that the English freighted their ships, on their arrival at their destined place, with fish, and train oil, which they sold, at very high prices, in Spain, and the Canary islands (*n*).

At this period, and during the following year (*o*), the crews of the several ships belonging to the Muscovy company were prosperous in their enterprizes at Greenland. To the Eastward of it, they made considerable discoveries; by the prudence, and intrepidity of their conduct, they defeated the artifices, and checked the insolence of the Dutch, who, now appeared with only a small number of ships, and fished in unfrequented places, at a considerable distance from the English (*p*).

We,

(*n*) *Hart's Coll.* part 1. p. 851.—*Smith's general History of Virginia*, p. 228.—*Lediard's naval History*, V. 2. folio. p. 444.

(*o*) *A. D.* 1616, 1617.

(*p*) *Purchas's Pilgrims*, V. 3. p. 467.—*Lediard's naval History*, V. 2. folio. p. 444.

We, at length enter on the continuation of a detail relative to the occurrences at Virginia, a colony against which the Spaniards were suspected to have made some hostile preparations. Not long before Sir Thomas Dale returned to England (9), a ship was observed to lie to, within a league of Cape Comfort. Soon afterwards her boat was manned, and rowed towards the shore, where an officer of the party requested the assistance of a pilot. On being informed by the inhabitants, that one should immediately attend, three of the Spaniards disembarked under pretence of treating with the pilot, who was persuaded to enter the boat, and concluded that they would follow him. On a sudden, the Spaniards who had not landed, put off to sea, leaving their three companions on the shore. As this proceeding occasioned much distrust, the men were strictly examined. The sole confession at first obtained from them was, that having lost their admiral, they had been obliged to proceed towards Cape Comfort, and that two of them were captains of the fleet. During a second examination, it appeared that one of them was an Englishman, and had been pilot to the Spanish armada, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, and was, at the very time whilst he related these circumstances, in treaty with some disaffected Virginian colonists, who were to effect his escape, and, likewise, attend him, in a small bark. On the discovery of this plot, care was taken to apprehend the criminals, and of these the most daring were led to execution. The Englishman, in the service of the Spaniards, in hopes that a more open confession might entitle him to mercy, acknowledged that several of the latter were at sea, in two ships, and had been directed to make every possible inquiry concern-

F f 4

ing

ing the state of the English colony. They were, notwithstanding, forbidden to open their commission until they should have arrived within the bay; a circumstance which rendered him unable to be more particular in his relation. One of the Spaniards died, but the other was sent to London. The Englishman obtained a reprieve, yet, during the voyage homewards, was hanged, at sea, in pursuance of an order from Sir Thomas Dale. Whether he suffered for his former crimes, or for one more recently committed, our historians do not mention.

With Sir Thomas, Mr. Rolfe, and his wife Pocahontas (who had been converted to christianity, and baptised Rebecca,) departed from Virginia, for England. When captain Smith was informed of the arrival of the latter, he, in grateful return for the services which he had received from her, drew up a memorial descriptive of her many virtues, and the obligations which she had conferred, not only on himself, but on all the English who visited her country. Having presented it to the queen, he was directed to invite her to the court, and, on the day following, she was introduced there by the lady Delaware. Her visits were now more frequent, and the reception which she met with from the royal family was gracious to an extreme. In public, she was entertained as the daughter of a prince, and she appeared at plays, balls, and other elegant diversions, attended by the chief ladies of the court, who treated her with the most assiduous respect. On all occasions, she conducted herself with such strict propriety, and maintained a dignity so unaffected, that every individual who approached her confessed that the encomiums which had been paid her, by Smith, were no more than equal to her deserts.

When

When preparing for her departure, she expressed a grateful sense of the honours which she had received, and asserted that it was her firm intention to avail herself of every measure that could effect the establishment of an uninterrupted harmony betwixt the English and the Indians. She did not, however, live to gratify her wishes, and prove a generous mediatrix. A fit of sickness which seized her, at Gravesend, proved fatal, after the expiration of a few days, and she died, rejoicing at having been instructed in the principles of the christian faith. She left issue a son, named Thomas Rolfe, whose descendants were lately, (and, unless they have been rendered a sacrifice to those civil wars, before which, not only properties, but lives must fall,) are, perhaps, still existing in good repute at the colony of Virginia. They claimed, and held lands, as being of the same lineage with Pocahontas.

In the following year, the government of Virginia was intrusted to Sir Samuel Argall, who, on his arrival, discovered that the number of colonists had been reduced nearly to four hundred persons, of whom not more than half were sufficiently robust, and healthy, for the purposes of labour. Mean while, the Indians, associating with the English, who, from the celebration of the nuptials between Rolfe, and Pocahontas, were less upon their guard, obtained presents of fire-arms, in the use of which they became extremely skilful. Argall, apprehensive of the consequences which might result from the increasing military knowledge of an intrepid race of Indians, confined the use of fire-arms, chiefly to his own colonists; and, by the prudence of his administration, not only secured the peace of the settlement, but introduced a prosperity which pervaded

vaded all departments, and, until that period, had been but little felt by any of the English (r).

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and sixteen, Alexander Child made a voyage from England to Surat, and from thence to Jasquez, in Persia. Our naval historians do not observe whether it was in the service of the company, or of private traders, that he engaged in enterprizes which were marked by a series of calamities. On the passage, he was attacked by the admiral of the Portuguese carracks, when a battle ensued, that lasted during three days, at the expiration of which the vessel ran aground, between two steep rocks, and was set on fire. Whether this misfortune proceeded from accident, or design, the writer (s), from whom the account is taken, doth not mention.

It is now necessary to inform the reader that as the commission granted to Mr. Moor was to remain in force only during three years, that officer, when the expiration of his government approached, prepared for a return to England, and was succeeded by captain Daniel Tucker, under whose careful superintendence the colony of the Bermudas acquired a degree of vigour which seemed to promise a considerable increase of its prosperity. In consequence of an attention to the arts of agriculture, the soil was rendered fertile; the fields, and woods were cleared of noxious plants, and, in their place, rose fruit trees, and tobacco. The huts which had been constructed with the leaves
of

(r) Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 119.—History of Virginia, p. 26.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. folio. P. 444. 445.

(s) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 606.

of the palmeto, were now exchanged for edifices of stone, and a regular system of polity was established throughout all departments. Although these salutary measures had received the approbation of all the colonists, yet so severe was the discipline maintained by Tucker, that five of the English, who grew impatient of restraint, had secretly determined to quit the island.

The Names of these disaffected persons were Richard Sanders, William Goodwin, Thomas Harrison, James Barker, and Henry Puett. Having been informed that Tucker had frequently expressed an inclination to sail out to sea, and partake of the diversion of fishing, but was deterred by the apprehension that (as the boats used for this purpose had been frequently overset, and the crews drowned, during the violence of the tempest,) his life might be in danger, they proposed to build, for his particular use, a boat of the burthen of three tons, decked, and capable of being navigated in any weather. The governour agreeing, they fixed on a private place for the execution of their designs, under pretence that there they could conveniently procure timber, and launch the boat. When Tucker was informed that it was finished, he sent some mariners to Sanders, and his associates, from whom they might receive it, and return immediately, in order to convey him in it to the ship, which, at that period, was preparing to sail for England. When they arrived at the place, they were unable to discover either the boat, or the builders, but, on inquiry, received information that the former was finished before the close of the preceding night, and that the latter put off to sea in it, to try how it would sail. At length, some letters were perceived lying on the ground. They were opened, and found to contain a declaration that the five Englishmen

lishmen had resolved to proceed immediately to their own country.

These brave adventurers, after having borrowed a compass, went on board of the vessel which was bound for England, and, in exchange for various commodities, procured a quantity of provisions from the crew. To the master, and mate, Goodwin observed that although he, and his confederates were forbidden to sail in that ship, yet they hoped to reach their native country before them. Returning to their boat, this little company began their voyage, and, for the space of twenty-one days, enjoyed a favourable wind, and fair weather. At the expiration of this period, they were exposed, during forty-eight hours, to a dreadful tempest, and, being obliged to bear up before it, were driven to the westward, when the wind shifted into its former quarter, and continued there fourteen days.

Availing themselves of this circumstance, they crouded every sail, but were, at length, intercepted by a French privateer, the commander of which plundered them of the greater, and most valuable part of their effects, and had the cruelty to dismiss them, without restoring their instruments of navigation. Thus dreadfully distressed, They proceeded on their course, and soon became so much enfeebled that they fainted under their attempts to execute their necessary labours. Their provisions were almost expended; their fire-wood, a part of which (such was the consequence of their calamity!) had been the knees of their little vessel, was intirely consumed; no fresh water remained; nor was there even food sufficient to last during another day. At this alarming crisis, when death appeared inevitable, they were so fortunate

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nate as to descry the coast of Ireland, and, soon afterwards, they disembarked at a small port, in the county of Cork, and were hospitably entertained by the earl of Thomond, to whom they related the occurrences of their voyage, that included forty-two days, a space of time in which they had sailed nearly two thousand leagues. The boat was preserved, and hung upon a naval pillar, there to remain a monument of so remarkable an enterprize (t).

In April, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and seventeen, the East-India company fitted out five ships; the James-Royal, of the burthen of a thousand tons; the Ann-Royal, of the burthen of nine hundred tons; the New Year's-Gift, of the burthen of eight hundred tons; the Bull, of the burthen of four hundred tons; and the Bee, of the burthen of one hundred, and fifty tons. These were under the chief command of captain Martin Pring.

We should trespass too far beyond the necessary limits of this work, if our inquiries extended to the occurrences of a voyage which, considering the frequent detachment of single ships to particular places, may be represented as having lasted until the close of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-one. Let it be sufficient to remark that during the greater part of this period, the English were perpetually engaged either in disputes, or skirmishes with the Dutch, who were generally defeated. At length, a cessation of hostilities was introduced, in consequence of a treaty concluded between the two nations, at Japan (u).

In

(t) Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 183.—British Empire in America, V. 2. p. 366.—Lediard's naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 445, 446.

(u) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 182.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 446, 447.

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen, four ships were fitted out from Plymouth, by the New-England company ; but the proprietors engaged in frivolous altercations, until the season was so far advanced that only two set sail. One vessel, which was of the burthen of two hundred tons, returned, after a prosperous voyage of five months, with a rich cargo, to the port of Plymouth. The other vessel, of the burthen of eighty tons, proceeded to Bilboa, with dried fish, which were sold at advantageous prices.

At this period, also, the lord Delaware was again sent, as governour, to Virginia, but neither that nobleman, nor twenty-nine persons out of the two hundred who accompanied him, survived the voyage. Nearly at the same time, died Powhatan, an event not unfavourable to the English, as the successor of this king entered immediately into a sincere, and a full renewal of the peace with them.

Sir Samuel Argall, at once too powerful, and respected to dread an opposition from the Indians, embraced every favourable occasion of advancing the prosperity of the colony. For this purpose, he departed on a coasting voyage to the northward, and resolved to view the places where the English had so often landed, unless some particular obstacle should intervene. In the latter case, it was his intention to proceed to the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and there to establish a commercial correspondence. Arriving at Cape Cod, he received information from the Indians, that several Europeans had fixed their dwellings to the northward, on the coast of the neighbouring nations. Alarmed at this event, and eager to defend from an invasion on their privileges, the colonists who were the subjects of king James, he repaired immediately to the place. Here, he found a settlement, and, within the harbour,
a ship

a ship belonging to the French, several of whom occupied a strong post, at the summit of a small mountain, situated to the north of New-England. Argall first seized the vessel, and next attacked the fort, the troops in which, after a faint resistance, fled in confusion towards the woods. On the day following, they surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion, and delivered their patent which had been granted by the king of France into the hands of Argall, who immediately cancelled it. At this juncture, a jesuit became a traitor to his countrymen, and secretly informed the English that he was prepared to conduct them to another French settlement, at Port Royal, in Canada. His offer was accepted, and Argall, arriving at the spot, drove away the colonists, who had not only sowed, and reaped, but erected mills, and granaries.

An account of these enterprizes was soon transmitted to the court of England; and, if we may form a judgment from the measures which were, shortly afterwards, pursued, the conduct of Sir Samuel Argall was too spirited to suit the disposition of the pacific James. In April, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nineteen, a small vessel, arrived at Virginia, and, having remained there only a sufficient time to receive the governour on board, returned for England (x).

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen, the Dragon, and the Expedition, two ships in the service of the East-India company, were sent, under the command of captain William Hore, from Surat, to Achen, Bantam, and other parts of the East-Indies. Be it

(x) Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 229.—British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 28.—History of Virginia, p. 32.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 455, 456.

it sufficient to remark, as the only memorable circumstance of the voyage, that the Dragon, and three more ships belonging to the company, were attacked (when fully freighted, and soon after their departure from the port of Tecuo) by six Dutch men of war, and taken after a violent, but ineffectual resistance. The captors gratified the barbarity of their disposition, and exposed the English to the most inhuman insults (y), (z).

At this period the English, and the states of Holland were again involved in altercations concerning the right of fishing (a). The latter were the more violent in their remonstrances, and demands, as presuming on their maritime force, and the certainty that James was, even to an extreme of folly, averse from war. It is not improbable but that they had also formed the most sanguine ideas of the success which might result from the negotiations of their minister, whose abilities were equal to the most arduous enterprises; and that sooner, or later, could they protract the termination of the dispute, they should either pre-

(y) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 656.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 196.—Lediard's naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 456.

(z) During this, and the following year, the Greenland trade was on the decline; a misfortune which resulted from the increasing power of the Dutch, and Zealanders, who severely oppressed the English, in those parts.

(a) Mr. Camden † observes that, on the thirty-first of December, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen, when the deputies of the States were admitted into the presence of James, they intreated that no restrictions might be established against the herring-fishery, as it was the great support of their commonwealth, and the only succour for the lower ranks of people, who at that Era, endured the severest hardships which could result from intestine troubles.

† Annals of the reign of king James.

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prevail upon the king to relinquish his pretensions, or so frequently repeat their own ill-founded excuses, that, in the end, they might gain credit (*b*). At this juncture, individuals who disliked the English ministry, represented the differences with that republic, as rather of a criminal than an honourable nature; yet, when in the time of the long-parliament, they held the reins of government, they caused the letters of state, written during this dispute with the Dutch, to be taken out of the archives, and, without the smallest scruple, made them the foundation of that quarrel which they prosecuted with force of arms. A naval historian (*c*) after having expressed a wish that no occasion of the like nature may ever happen, adds that, as the letters are pertinent, and curious, some extracts may at once prove entertaining, and instructive.

EXTRACT of a LETTER addressed by SECRETARY NAUNTON, to SIR DUDLEY CARLETON, AMBASSADOR to the STATES-GENERAL, dated on the twenty-first of December, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen.

“ I Must now let your lordship know, that the
 “ states, commissioners, and deputies, both, hav-
 “ ing attended his majesty at Newmarket, and there
 “ presented their letters of credence, returned to Lon-
 “ don, on Saturday was sevensnight, and, upon Tuesday,
 “ had audience in the council-chamber, where being
 “ required to communicate the points of their commis-
 “ sion, they delivered their meditated answer, at
 Vol. III. G g “ length.

(*b*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 20.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 21.



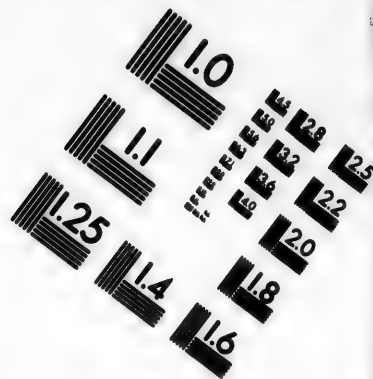
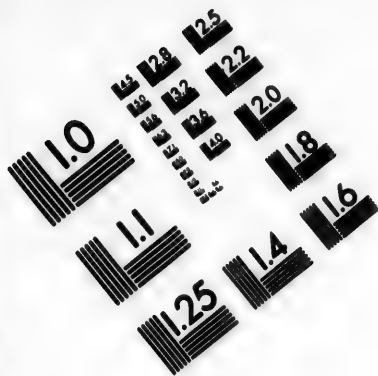
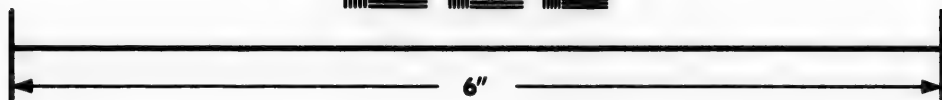
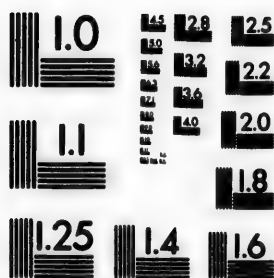


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length. The lords, upon perusal of it, appointed the lord Bining, and me, to attend his majesty for directions, what reply to return to this answer of theirs, which we represented to their lordships, yesterday, to this effect; that his majesty found it strange, that they, having been so often required by your lordship, his majesty's ambassador, as from himself, in their public assemblies, to send over commissioners fully authorized to treat, and conclude, not only of all differences grown between the subjects of both states, touching the trade to the East-Indies, and the whale-fishing, and to regulate, and settle a joint, and an even traffick in those quarters; but, withal, to take order for a more indifferent course of determining other questions, growing between our merchants, and them, about their draperies, and the tare; and more especially, to determine his majesty's right, for the sole fishing, upon all the coasts of his three kingdoms, into which they had, of late times, incroached farther than of right they could; and, lastly, for the reglement, and reducing of their coins, to such a proportion, and correspondence, with those of his majesty, and other states, that their subjects might make no advantage to transport our monies by inhancing their valuation there. All which they confessed, that your lordship had instanced them for in his majesty's name, that after all this attent on his majesty's part, and so long deliberation on theirs, they were come at last to a proposition, to speak only to the two first points, and instructed thereunto with bare letters of credence only, which his majesty takes for an imperious fashion of procedure in them, as if they were come hither to treat of what themselves pleased, and to give law to his majesty
“ in

“ in his own kingdom, and to propose, and admit of
 “ nothing, but what should tend merely to their own
 “ ends.”

“ To the second, whereas they would decline all
 “ debate of the fishing upon his majesty’s coasts,
 “ first, by allegations of their great losses, and the
 “ fear of an esmeute of their people, who are all in-
 “ terested in that question, and would, belike, break
 “ out into some combustion, to the hazard of their
 “ state, which hath lately escaped Naufrage, and is not
 “ yet altogether calmed. What is this, but to raise an
 “ advantage to themselves, out of their disadvan-
 “ tage? But, afterwards, they professed their loth-
 “ nefs to call it into doubt, or question, claiming an
 “ immemorial possession, seconded by the law of na-
 “ tions; to which, his majesty will have them told,
 “ that the kings of Spain have sought leave to fish
 “ there, by treaty from this crown; and that the
 “ king of France, a nearer neighbour to our coasts
 “ than they, to this day, requests leave for a few
 “ vessels to fish for provision of his own household;
 “ that they being a state of so late a date, should be
 “ the first that would presume to question his majesty’s
 “ ancient right, so many hundred years inviolably
 “ possessed by his progenitors, and acknowledged by
 “ all other ancient states, and princes; that themselves,
 “ in their public letters of the last of June, sent by
 “ your lordship, seemed them to confirm their imme-
 “ morial possession, as they term it, with divers trea-
 “ ties, as are that of the year, one thousand, five
 “ hundred, and fifty, and another between his ma-
 “ jesty’s predecessors, and Charles, the fifth, as prince of
 “ those provinces, and not by the law of nations.
 “ To which, their last plea, his majesty would have
 “ them told, that he, being a islander-prince, is

“not ignorant of the laws, and rights of his own kingdom, nor doth expect to be taught the law of nations, by them, or their Grotius, whose ill thriving might rather teach others to disavow his positions; and his honesty called in question, by themselves, might render his learning as much suspected to them, as his person. This his majesty takes for an high point in his sovereignty, and will not have it slighted over, in any fashion whatsoever.”

“Thus, I have particulated unto you, the manner of our proceeding with them. Let them advise to seek leave from his majesty, and acknowledge in him his right, as other princes have done, and do, or it may well come to pass, that they that will needs bear all the world before them, by their *mare liberum*, may soon come to have, neither *terram*, et *solum*, nor *republicam liberam*.”

EXTRACT of a LETTER from the said AMBASSADOR, to SECRETARY NAUNTON, dated at the HAGUE, on the thirtieth of December, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen.

“**W**HETHER the final resolution, here, will be according to his majesty’s desire, in that point, concerning the fishing upon the coasts of his three kingdoms, I cannot say; and by somewhat which fell from the prince of Orange, by way of discourse, when he took leave of me, on Monday last, at his departure, I suspect it will not, in regard the magistrates of these towns of Holland, being newly placed, and yet scarce fast in their seats, who do authorize the deputies, which come hither to the assembly of the states, in all things, they are to treat, and resolve, will not adventure, for fear of
“the

“ the people, to determine of a business, on which the
 “ livelihood of fifty thousand of the inhabitants of this
 “ one single province doth depend. I told the prince
 “ that, howsoever his majesty, both in honour of his
 “ crown, and person, and the interests of his king-
 “ doms, neither could, nor would any longer desist
 “ from having his right acknowledged by this state,
 “ as well as by all other princes, and commonwealths,
 “ especially finding the same openly oppugned, both by
 “ their statesmen, and men of war, as the writings of
 “ Grotius, and the taking of John Brown, the last
 “ year, may testify; yet this acknowledgement of a
 “ right, and a due, was no exclusion of grace, and
 “ favour; and that the people of this country, pay-
 “ ing that small tribute upon every one of their bus-
 “ ses, which is not so much as disputed by any other
 “ nation whatsoever. Such was his majesty’s well-
 “ wishing to this state, that I presumed of his permis-
 “ sion, to suffer them to continue their course of fish-
 “ ing, which they might use thereby with more free-
 “ dom, and less apprehension of molestation, and let,
 “ than before, and likewise spare the cost of some of
 “ their men of war, which they yearly send out to
 “ maintain that by force, which they may have of
 “ courtesy.”

“ The prince answered, that for himself, at his re-
 “ turn from Utrecht, he would do his best endeavours,
 “ to procure his majesty’s contentment; but, he
 “ doubted that the Hollanders would apprehend the
 “ same effect in their payment for fishing, as they found
 “ in the passage of the Sound, where at first an easy
 “ matter was demanded by the king of Denmark, but
 “ now, more exacted than they can possibly bear;
 “ and touching their men of war, he said, that they
 “ must still be at the same charge with them, because

“ of the pirates. Withal, he cast out a question to
 “ me, whether this freedom of fishing, might not be
 “ redeemed with a sum of money. To which I an-
 “ swered, that it was a matter of royalty, more than of
 “ utility, although princes were not to neglect their
 “ profit (d).

EXTRACT of a LETTER, addressed by SECRETARY
 NAUNTON, to the LORD AMBASSADOR CARLE-
 TON, dated on the twenty-first of January, in the
 year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen.

“ **A**S I had dictated thus far, I received direction
 “ from his majesty, to signify to the states, com-
 “ missioners here, that albeit their earnest intreaty,
 “ and his gracious consideration of the present trou-
 “ ble of their church, and state, had moved his ma-
 “ jesty to consent to delay the treaty of the great
 “ fishing, until the time craved by the commission-
 “ ers; yet, understanding, by new, and fresh com-
 “ plaints

(d) Yet, that whensoever our court proceeded with due
 spirit, it had its effect, and brought even these subtile ne-
 gociators to make concessions, which, in reality, destroyed
 all their pretensions, at other times, will appear, from an
 extract of a letter dated on the fourteenth of January, in
 the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen, from
 Secretary Naunton, in which, he gives him to understand,
 “ that having been expostulated with, but in a friendly
 “ manner, by certain of the states, about his late proposi-
 “ tion, as unreasonable and sharp; they said, that they
 “ acknowledged that their commissioners went beyond their
 “ limits, in their terms of immemorial possession, (immu-
 “ table droit de gens,) for which they had no order, that
 “ he then desired them to consider what a wrong it was,
 “ to challenge that upon right, which those provinces had
 “ hitherto enjoyed, either by connivance, or by courtesy,
 “ and yet never without claim on his majesty's side.”

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" complaints of his mariners, and fishers, upon the coasts
 " of Scotland, that within these four, or five last years,
 " the Low-Country fishers have taken so great advan-
 " tages of his majesty's toleration, that they have
 " grown nearer, and nearer, upon his majesty's coasts,
 " year, by year, than they did in preceding times,
 " without leaving any bounds for the country-people,
 " and natives to fish upon their prince's coasts, and
 " oppressed some of his subjects, of intent to continue
 " their pretended possession, and driven some of their
 " great vessels through their nets, to deter others, by
 " fear of the like violence, from fishing near them,
 " &c. His majesty cannot forbear to tell them, that
 " he is so well persuaded of the equity of the states,
 " and of the honourable respect which they bear unto
 " him, and to his subjects, for his sake, that they
 " will never allow so unjust, and intolerable oppres-
 " sions; for restraint whereof, and to prevent the in-
 " conveniencies which must ensue, upon the continu-
 " ance of the same, his majesty hath, by me, desired
 " them to write to their superiors to cause proclama-
 " tion to be made, prohibiting any of their subjects to
 " fish within fourteen miles of his majesty's coasts,
 " during this year, or in any time hereafter, until
 " orders be taken by commissioners, to be authorized
 " on both sides, for a final settling of the main busi-
 " ness. His majesty hath likewise directed me to
 " command you from him to make the like declara-
 " tion, and instance to the states there, and to certify
 " to his majesty of their answers, with what conveni-
 " ent speed you may."

What effect the negotiation of the ambassador had
 on the states, appears by his letter, from the Hague,
 dated on the sixth of February, in the year, one thou-

sand, six hundred, and eighteen, and addressed to king James.

“ I find, likewise, in the manner of proceeding, that
 “ treating by way of proposition here, nothing can be
 “ expected but their wonted dilatory, and evasive an-
 “ swers, their manner being to refer such propositions
 “ from the States-General, to the states of Holland.
 “ The states of Holland take advice of a certain coun-
 “ cil, residing at Delft, which they call the council
 “ of the fishery, and from them, such an answer
 “ commonly comes as may be expected from such an
 “ oracle. The way, therefore, (under correction,)
 “ to effect your majesty’s intent, is to begin with the
 “ fishers, by publishing, against the time of their
 “ going out, your resolution at what distance you will
 “ permit them to fish, whereby they will be forced to
 “ have recourse to their council of fishery, that coun-
 “ cil to the states of Holland, and those of Holland,
 “ to the States-General, who then, in place of being
 “ fought unto, will, for contentment of their subjects,
 “ seek unto your majesty.”

A naval writer hath remarked (c) that these letters render it perfectly clear that James asserted his right, throughout the long course of this negociation, as clearly and as explicitly as it was possible; and that he brought the states themselves to an acknowledgement that these privileges had a just foundation. If it should be asked why, after matters had apparently been carried to such violent extremities, they sunk at once into oblivion, the most rational answer that can be given is that in the midst of the dispute, the prince
 of

(c) Campbell’s Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 28.

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of Orange shrewdly demanded of Sir Dudley Carleton, whether this claim relative to the fishery might not be set aside, for a sum of money. The ambassador who was afterwards created viscount Dorchester, appears from the advice given in the extract from the last letter to have been a man of honour; but whether some persons in power might not have found a method of conveying, by agents of their own, an answer to so plain a question, is more than, at this distance of time, can possibly be determined. By one historian (*f*), we are informed that when disputes arose concerning the honours which might be due to the English flag, the Dutch found a protector in the celebrated earl of Salisbury; nor is it at all improbable that they might procure an advocate in this important business of the fishery. Under such a circumstance, the agreement must have been ministerial, and not national, because, in the succeeding reign, this claim was insisted upon as violently, and more effectually than in the reign of James (*g*).

It may not, in this place, be improper to observe that by whatsoever means the disputes relative to the fisheries were adjusted, during that period, no point was admitted which could in the least affect the claim of right by the crown of Great Britain. As Carleton sagaciously returned for answer to the question proposed by the prince of Orange, that it was a royalty, so, beyond all doubt, those ancient, and immemorial prerogatives of the crown are unalienable; and although treaties may be made for explaining, regulating, and adjusting them with our neighbours, yet this measure must be always understood as embraced for the purpose of obtaining them. These rights belong

(*f*) Sir William Monson.

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 29.

long to the crown, and not to the king, who, although bound by the duty of his office, to support, and vindicate them, yet is, at the same time, restrained by that duty from an alienation of them; and therefore, whatsoever tolerations, connivances, or forbearances may arise, either in particular reigns, or from particular circumstances, such can never be urged in prejudice to the inherent rights of the crown, which remain continually, although they may not always be insisted upon. The reader hath already perceived that this doctrine was particularly urged, and applied in the case of the contested superiority of the flag, when the Dutch were desirous of availing themselves of a precedent from the conduct of Elizabeth, who waved her right, at a time when it might have been imprudent to insist on it; as the Dutch served as auxiliaries in a fleet, commanded by an English admiral, and were, consequently, treated as English subjects (*h*).

At this period, the merchants who maintained a traffic on the coast of Barbary, having inquired of the Moors, from whence they procured that gold which was coined into chequins, were informed that it was not produced from any mines either in Morocco, or Fez, but conveyed by the natives over extensive deserts. Hence, they concluded that it must have arrived from Ethiopia, and, therefore, resolved to equip a vessel for the purpose of discovering this valuable metal, in some of those rivers which flow towards the south-west, and there fall into the ocean.

Accordingly, in September, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen, captain George Thompson was appointed to the command of a ship,
and

(*h*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 30.

and received orders to enter the river Gambia, and sail up it with such shallops as should attend him. This he punctually performed; but, during his absence, the ship was taken by a small party of the Portuguese, who, having been admitted freely on board, slew all the English who were left to guard her. Thompson, and his associates, proceeded as far as Tinda, where, engaging in a quarrel with an officer in his service, he was killed upon the spot (*i*).

Although we wander from a regular chronology, it cannot be improper to remark, in this plate, that the merchants, not discouraged by these calamitous events, dispatched, on the fifth of October, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty, to the river Gambia, a ship of the burthen of two hundred tons, and a pinnace of the burthen of fifty tons, under the command of captain Jobson, who, proceeding from Dartmouth, arrived, after the expiration of twenty days, at an harbour, situated four leagues beyond the mouth of the river. Here he traded with the inhabitants, for elephants teeth, cotton, and other commodities peculiar to the country; yet no mention is made of his having acquired any gold, the great object of this voyage; neither doth any narrative, relating to this enterprize, inform us at what period he returned to England (*k*).

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nineteen, several vessels were equipped for the purpose of proceeding from Plymouth, to New-England, but, a violent altercation arising amongst the proprietors, became the cause that only one departed on the voyage.

This

(*i*) March, A. D. 1619.

(*k*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 384.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 2. p. 921.—Lediard's naval History, folio. V. 2. p. 457.

This was commanded by captain Dormer, whose enterprizes were so successful that, after having reserved to himself a just share of the acquisitions made, during the course of six months, he assigned to each of the sailors, as their lawful portion, exclusive of the full payment of their charges, the sum of seventeen pounds sterling. Scarcely less fortunate in his attempts to make discoveries to the northward, he found several extensive and convenient rivers, surrounded by fertile coasts, and filled with pleasant islands, from east to west. At one of these, he was surrounded by the savages, who treated him with such barbarity that, at his return to Virginia, he expired of the wounds which he received (*l*).

At this period, and during the following year, considerable supplies were sent from England, to the colonies in Virginia (*m*). So great also was the number of planters,

(*l*) Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 851.—Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 229.—Lediard's naval History, folio. V. 2. p. 457, 458.

(*m*) Here follows an account of the supplies.

A. D. 1619. August.				
Ships.	Burthen.	Persons.	Cows.	Mares.
The Bona Nova	200 Tons	120		
A. D. 1620. January.				
Duty	70 Tons	51		
February.				
Jonathan	350 Tons	200		
Trial	200 Tons	40	16	
Falcon	150 Tons	36	52	4
March.				
LondonMercht.	300 Tons	300	200	
Swan	100 Tons	71		
April.				
Bonaventure	240 Tons	153		

All of these were dispatched by the treasurer, and company.

planters, that they were obliged to inhabit the old settlements which had been deserted, and to extend their limits. Representatives were now chosen for the several precincts; and these formed a general assembly, which sate, attended by the governour, and the council, at James-Town, on the first of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty.

In the month of August following, a Dutch ship arrived at Virginia, with negroes, who were the first slaves brought thither from the coast of Guinea. Now, likewise, did the English fix the boundaries of James-Town; and, in different situations, the ground was marked out for the use of the company, and of the governour, and for the purpose of erecting colleges, churches, and other public edifices. New settlements were made, and various manufactures introduced; an æra of prosperity which we shall find succeeded by the bitterest calamity (*n*).

It may now be necessary to remind the reader that towards the conclusion of the reign of Elizabeth, and soon after the accession of James, some merchant-adventurers of the port of London, engaged separately in several attempts to establish a trade to the coast of Africa, or Guinea. The result of these measures was barely a discovery of little consequence, and a dearly-bought experience that, probably, an advantageous

The following were also sent for private plantations.

	Ships.	Burthen.	Persons.
A. D. 1619. June.	The Garland	250 Tons	45
September.	A Ship of Bristol	80 Tons	45

And two other ships, having on board of each, one hundred, and fifty persons.

(*n*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1776.—British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 235.—Lediard's naval History, folio. V. 2. p. 458.

geous commerce might have been introduced into those parts, had they been possessed of pecuniary property, and power sufficient for that purpose. Exclusive of these obstacles, no physical means had been discovered for the preservation of the voyagers from the dreadful disorders introduced by the pestilential air, so common to the climate; neither were any measures taken to secure the English from the barbarous hostilities of the natives. Dispirited by these circumstances, the adventurers gradually withdrew from their engagements, and appeared to have declined all thoughts of listening to a renewal of them.

At length, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nineteen, the king granted a charter, under the great seal of England, to Sir Robert Rich, and other citizens of London, therein mentioned, together with such persons as they should think fit to assume, and incorporate into one body politic, for the purpose of raising a joint stock, in order to carry on a trade to Africa, exclusive of all the other subjects of James, who, offending in this case, should forfeit their ship, and cargo, to the use of, and for the encouragement of these joint adventurers.

Scarcely had the vessels in the service of this company made three voyages, when several private merchants, allured by prospects of future wealth, sent ships, with as much privacy as was possible, to the same parts. When discovered, they became involved in violent ruptures with the incorporated adventurers, who exclaimed against the invasion of their chartered privileges, and were answered that the enterprizes of the merchants were strictly defensible, and founded on a natural right. At length, both parties, harrassed by perpetual altercations, and suffering under severe losses, withdrew the shattered remains of their respective

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tive stocks, and thus the trade sank into a neglect
from which, during a length of time, it was incapable
of recovering (o).

(o) Coll. voyages, V. 5. p. 665.—Lediard's naval
History, V. 2. Folio. p. 558, 459.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE
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END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.